English Social Movements

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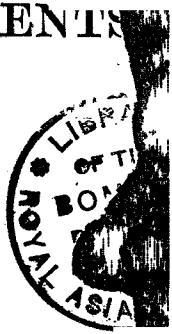

BY

ROBERT ARCHEY WOODS

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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

by

Robert Archey Woods

To

PROFESSOR WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER

PREFACE

Six of the following chapters are nearly identical with the lectures given at Andover Seminary in the spring term under the Alumni Lectureship for the year 1890–91. The other, the chapter about University Extension, appeared first in *The Andover Review*, March, 1891, from which it is taken by permission. The whole material has been carefully revised, and in all significant details brought fully down to the time of publication.

The aim has been to present an ordered sketch of those movements in the life of the English people which are exerting the greatest influence at present. Little attention has been paid to any movement that has not shown some distinctive activity during the last ten years. Moreover, general statical conditions have not been touched upon except for the sake of making plain the operation of social forces.

I have not attempted to institute a running comparison between the English social situation and the American. Occasional mention of Amer-

ican matters has been in each case only in order to give a better understanding of the point in question. I may, however, express my increasing conviction of the substantial emptiness of the kind of criticism made upon the constitution of English society which is intended to be an indirect felicitation of ourselves over our own social conditions. The American aristocracy is more powerful and more dangerous than the English. Our class system is not less cruel for having its boundaries less clearly marked. And it can no longer be taken for granted that working men are better off in the United States than in England. The coal miners of the North of England have strong trade unions, work eight hours or less per day, support their co-operative stores, and in some places are organizing University Extension centres. The coal miners of western Pennsylvania, already low enough, are being forced lower by the competition of the latest Continental immigrants, with their unspeakably degraded standard of life. As to the crowded populations of cities, we are beginning to see that the problem of lower New York is in some respects even more serious than the problem of East London.

We do not, therefore, any longer need to go over the sea to learn about evil social conditions.

But, for the sake of a knowledge of what means may best be used toward remedying such conditions, as well as of an apprehension of the noble feeling by which men are impelled to take up their social and political duties, it will be of great importance that we watch closely the remarkable progress England is making in these ways.

The observations and conversations from which the account is in large part made up were had during a stay of six months in London at Toynbee Hall, and in short visits afterward to the other leading English and Scotch cities. Wherever I went I met kind friends, to whose assistance I am greatly indebted. My especial thanks are due to the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Warden of Toynbee Hall; to the residents of Toynbee Hall; to Mr. William Clarke, of the Fabian Society; and to Mr. Vaughn Nash, of the Co-operative Aid Association. I should be sorry, however, to have any person other than myself charged with mistakes of fact or opinion which I may have made. References to pamphlets and reports are seldom given; but so far as the recent literature of the subject is generally available, attention has been called to it.

ANDOVER, October, 1891.

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I

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

THE OLD AND NEW TRADE UNIONS.—JOHN BURNS AND TOM MANN.—STRIKE OF THE DOCK LABORERS, AND THE DOCKERS' UNION.—OTHER NEW UNIONS.—INFLUENCE AND METHODS OF THE NEW TRADE UNIONISM.—HOPEFUL ELEMENTS IN ITS SUCCESS.—CHARACTER OF THE LEADERS.—WORKING MEN'S CLUBS.—FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.—CO-OPERATION.

THE last two years have opened a new era in the history of the working class in England. The change is indicated in the discussions that go on between the old trade unions and the new. The old unions have their strength at the North, and are made up of men from the more skilled industries. Some of these unions date back thirty or forty years, or even longer, and have become powerful and wealthy. The New Trade Unionism takes up the cause of the unskilled. Its strongholds are in London. Its main organization is the Dockers' Union, which came into being through the great dock strike in the summer of 1889.

The old trade unions had fallen into, and still maintain, a conservative policy. They were for the most part merely holding their own ground.

No determined efforts were made to bring non-union members of a trade into the union. There was practically no effort to extend the bounds of organization into industries not having unions. There have been, under the present government, nine trade-unionist members of Parliament; but they seem to think that there has been sufficient labor legislation, and have been giving their attention to the ordinary political issues.

The earlier leaders had seen so great changes brought about in the public and legal standing of the unions, as well as in the life of the individual member of a union, that they were to some extent excusable for thinking the further development of labor would gradually come of itself. The unions had made steady progress in the advance of wages and in the decrease of hours of work. The recognition of the law had been gained for them, so that their funds were fully protected. They were relieved of the persecution of the conspiracy acts. They had urged forward, through the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, a long series of factory laws. There had gradually come a marked improvement in the feeling of people generally toward the unions. The justice of their claims was often acknowledged by a portion of the press. The economists were beginning to recognize the organization of labor as an impor-

tant and necessary means to its further development. Moreover, that portion of the working men of Great Britain who were included in the older unions had come to have very fair conditions of life. In the industries covered by the leading unions, there were few strikes of any consequence. A union had so strong a hold on the men of its trade, even in cases where many in the trade were not members of the union, that the employers usually acceded to its demands very quickly. Or, if a strike were ordered, the funds were so ample and the members of the union so well disciplined, that the working men, after a short and quiet contest, usually gained their point.

But with all this progress of the artisans, the great mass of the unskilled laborers found no remission of the evils that oppressed them. The trade unionists, when they considered the case of the poor dockers at all, regarded them as incapable of organization on the orthodox trade-union plan, and opposed the application of any new methods to suit their more difficult case. Just as, when the middle class gained its liberties under the Reform Bill of 1834, it was indifferent and even hostile to the claims and methods of the fathers of the trade unionists; so the trade unionists themselves, when they began, a generation later, to gain their rights, felt little inclination to

extend the benefits of trade unionism to the men a grade below them, and were rather critical of any struggling attempts of the fourth estate to gain those benefits for itself.* It was just here that there was needed a new infusion into the labor movement. The new infusion came mainly through the efforts of two men.

John Burns and Tom Mann are both highly skilled mechanics, and members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, which is one of the oldest and strongest of the trade unions, having existed in some of its branches since 1826. Their experience as members of this union has given them a strong sense of the importance of labor organizations among the better elements of the working class. It has also taught them something about directing large bodies of men. But their cardinal principle of action, their belief in the possibility of hope for the vast body of the unskilled, and their enthusiasm for the emancipation and development of the lower grades of working men, does not come from trade unionism; it comes from Socialism.

* The history of the old trade unions up to 1890 is given in the second edition of George Howell's "The Conflicts of Capital and Labor." A comparison of the first with the second edition will show how little there was to record about the doings of the Old Unionism during the thirteen years that intervened.

Burns and Mann had both been connected with the Social Democratic Federation for several years before the great dock strike. They were on the staff of out-door speakers. They had not a little to do with the agitations of the unemployed in London between 1886 and 1888. Burns was twice arrested and once imprisoned on the charge of fomenting some of those disturbances.

Through the early years of its existence, the Social Democratic Federation was very indifferent to the trade unions, if not positively hostile to them. It is to the credit of Tom Mann that he refused to accept this view. John Burns was much more inclined to hold to the Federation position; but, as they were old friends and comrades, they did not long remain at variance on the matter. With the discouragement resulting from the spasmodic risings of the unskilled, they both came to feel that the hope of the future lay in beginning at once a thorough organization of the lower departments of labor.

The men at one of the largest gas works in London had a very successful strike in the spring of 1889, by which they gained the eight-hours' day and ultimately an increase in wages. John Burns was a leader in this strike. The success of the gas-workers stirred up dissatisfaction among the dockers at their low rate of wages and the uncertain

nature of their employment. Ben Tillett was at that time working at the docks, though he was of a higher grade than most of the dock laborers. He had formed a small union, and he now asked John Burns to come and help in an effort to gain better terms. Burns, after reviewing the situation, decided that the time was ripe for a strike. The great six weeks' struggle began. The difficulty of the case may be imagined when it is known that the dockers were utterly undisciplined, and without the means of subsistence except such support as might be hoped for from other working men and from charitably disposed people in London.

Burns took charge of the out-door programme. He kept up the spirits of the dockers by addressing them at least once every day. Often he would speak several times, and then have to walk to his home, five miles away, after 'busses and cars had ceased running for the night. Tom Mann had the responsibility of the general management of the strike, of arranging for the supply and distribution of relief, receiving the counsel of friends, preparing plans of settlement, and dealing with the dock directors. Ben Tillett's work was of course important, but in the reports of the time he was made unduly prominent because he was the only leader of the strike who had been actually engaged at the docks. The great ability and determined

efforts of these men were seconded by the fact that the market was steadily rising and the demand for goods increasing. By the generous contributions of working men throughout Great Britain and in the colonies, a complete system of strike pay was made possible. It was especially significant how the strike had public sympathy and public support. Large quantities of relief supplies were furnished every day. The dock strike of 1889 will for the future not only indicate a new epoch in the development of labor from within, but it will be remembered as the first time when to a large extent the moral sense of the English people began to feel the justice of the laborers' cause.

The result of the strike was that a minimum of sixpence per hour—"the dockers' silver shining 'tanner'"—was guaranteed for regular work, and eightpence per hour for overtime. The dock managers' grievous custom of dismissing men after an hour or two, in order to get the full advantage of men's fresh strength, was ended by the agreement that no one called in to work should be sent away with less than two shillings. The great outcome of the strike, however, was the gradual formation of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Laborers' Union, with Tom Mann as president, and Ben Tillett as general secretary.

In the two years that the Dockers' Union has

been in existence it has accomplished some remarkable results. It has in its membership nearly 25,000 dock workers in London, and about 35,000 more scattered through most of the leading ports of the Kingdom. Some dock laborers' unions of the Netherlands have been affiliated. On November 1, 1889, when the agreement which ended the strike came into effect, a further arrangement was made by which every group of men gained the right to appoint one of their number to act with the superintendent appointed by the company owning the dock, in the direction of the work. In November, 1890, when the agreement expired and the dock directors issued a new list of conditions of employment, they withdrew the arrangement for a second superintendent chosen from the ranks, and introduced an express order that there was to be no examining of union cards on the premises of the affiliated companies. This looked as if the companies had determined to reassert their power. However, after many conferences between the leaders of the Union and the dock directors, a plan was agreed upon, which, if it can only be worked out, will constitute another long step forward in the progress of the dock laborer. Under this plan, at a number of docks the groups of men who work together have been unloading ships on a co-operative basis. They choose their own leader,

who deals directly with the ship-owners' foreman. The work is done by the piece at fixed rates, and the whole sum earned is divided up among the men of the group. The plan was suggested by the dock directors in the first instance, it is said. At any rate, they were quite willing to have it tried. The experiment has been, on the whole, quite successful. The men do not, of course, have a regular sum per day guaranteed them, as under the previous arrangement, but as a rule their wages have been higher. And they have been free from the domination of the middleman. The leaders of the Union have very strong hopes of the plan, and look confidently forward to getting the whole work of the port of London organized in that way.

The Dockers' Union has a yearly income of $140,000. It publishes a monthly paper, which is put together with a great deal of taste, and has a circulation of nearly 30,000.* The Union has gained for its members an addition, on an average, of $1.25 to the weekly wage. Throughout the Kingdom, it has conducted more than two hundred strikes, and has won them nearly all. This has been accomplished by dint of great effort in getting the dockers well organized at all the

* The official *Dockers' Record* has been succeeded by another paper under the same general direction, which represents all the new unions.

ports and, as far as possible, bringing them into the one general organization.

But important as the progress of the Dockers' Union itself is in the development of the English working class, the less direct results of the dock strike are still greater. There is hardly a department of work where men have not during the past two years been moved to seek an improvement of their lot. Beside the increased unrest in all the trade unions, there was in London a threatening strike among the postmen; the policemen struck; the soldiers struck. It was interesting to notice that the striking postmen were far more numerous and stood more firmly in the East End, the scene of the dock strike, than in the other parts of London.

Beside the Dockers' Union, there are two other large unions of unskilled working men, both of which have received a great impetus from the dockers' success. The Gas Workers' and General Laborers' Union was formed in the spring of 1889. It includes all classes of unskilled laborers and has a membership of 120,000 men. Forty thousand of its members engaged in the gas works of the Kingdom have the eight-hours' day. This gain was made in a series of struggles about the time of the formation of the Union. It is claimed that with the decrease of the hours of labor there have

been no cases in which wages have been lowered. Ninety per cent. of all the members of the Union have had an increase of from one-tenth to two-fifths in their wages. The other leading representative of the New Trade Unionism is the National Seamen's and Firemen's Union. This Union made a beginning in September, 1887, but its larger growth has been quite recent. It now has about seventy-five branches, with a total membership of nearly 90,000. The president of this Union is Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, who for a long time has championed the cause of the sailor before Parliament and the country. He has already accomplished a great deal in this direction, but is now able to make his proposals part of the programme of the Union, and thus to present his claims with the additional emphasis that comes from having a large organized force behind him. The Sailors' Union is the more remarkable on account of the exceptional difficulties it has to face. It is very hard to organize and discipline men who lead so irregular a life as sailors do. They are constantly changing their ports. They pay their dues at different places. Moreover, the Union has been compelled for some time to be fortifying itself for a possible great contest with the recently organized Shippers' Federation.

There have not been to any such extent in

England as in America, great combinations of capital for the sake of getting control of commercial markets. But it shows how the centralizing tendency of the time is bound to work out in one way or another, that the owners of ships and docks have been compelled by the growing strength of the labor organizations to consolidate for self-defence. The members of the Sailors' Union decline to go to sea with non-union men in the crew. The Dockers' Union blocks, that is, refuses to unload, ships which have been loaded by firms employing non-union men. The Shippers' Federation threatens that if this kind of interference with traffic is not stopped, its members will lay up their ships in all the ports of the Kingdom until some better understanding can be reached. This threat is, of course, hardly taken in earnest; and yet the labor difficulties of the last few years have seriously curtailed the incomes of both ship and dock companies. They are compelled to take vigorous measures. They are just now pushing forward a so-called "free-labor movement." Offices have been opened in all the ports for the registration of men willing to work independently of the trade unions. Those applying are guaranteed continuous employment, and full protection against interference or intimidation. It is claimed that there is an abundant supply of men willing to

work under these conditions. The Sailors' Union and the Dockers' Union have both raised a fighting fund. The Sailors' Union has been preparing some large lodging houses in which its members are to live in case of a strike or lock-out. There are some non-union men at work at the London docks now, but the leaders have kept down any tendency to strike. They have not wished to bring on another great struggle, partly because their treasury was low, partly because the conditions of the commercial situation and of public sympathy were not sufficiently favorable, and partly because they hope the new co-operative scheme may gradually remove the difficulty of the non-union men, or "blacklegs."

There are now about as many men in the Dockers' Union in London as can suitably be employed in the unloading of ships. The leaders have therefore determined to refuse admission hereafter to all men who do not seem specially desirable. This move has been severely criticised. But the leaders say, with justice, that the only way to elevate the conditions of dock labor is to make it a regular kind of work, and not merely a last resort for all the shiftless or unfortunate of every other occupation. In directing the co-operative scheme, the Union itself will appoint the men to the separate gangs, and as the scheme develops

the Union will more and more be responsible for the whole of the unloading at the docks. To have men who are faithful to the Union and acquainted with its discipline, would be quite essential under such circumstances. It will be a very important departure from the principles of our present warlike industrial system when an agreement to be loyal to the aspirations of the great body of his brother working men, shall become the test put upon an applicant by those from whom he is seeking employment.

There are other unions which sympathize with the attitude of the New Trade Unionism. The old and well-established miners' unions are such. The railway employees are becoming more strongly united, and even when they lose in their struggles with the companies, as in the most recent strike in Scotland, they are rapidly bringing to the public a knowledge of their difficulties, especially in the way of long hours. A few more great railway strikes, and we shall probably see the government compelled to institute some close surveillance of the whole matter of the companies' dealing with their employees.

The gradual uniting of interests on the part of the men at work in these large industries suggests the possibility of the greatest labor struggle the world has yet seen. On the one side is the Shippers'

Federation, representing, it claims, the equivalent of seven-ninths of all the capital invested in shipping in the United Kingdom. On the other side, the sailors, the dockers, the gas workers, the railway men, and the coal miners, have already combined in local strikes, and they are getting prepared for a strike all along the line, if events seem to make it necessary.* These things clearly illustrate the gigantic massing of forces that is coming about in the industrial world. English trade unions do not succeed well with formal federations like the American Federation of Labor, but they are nowise behind in the ability quickly to form offensive and defensive alliances which meet special needs fully as well, if not better.

A situation of this kind raises the question of arbitration. On this matter, very little progress has been made. Good results have been gained, however, by committees of conciliation at some recent strikes. The best example of such work is that of the committee composed of Cardinal Manning, Mr. Sidney Buxton, M.P., and others, which brought the dock strike to a conclusion.

A special part of the policy of the New Unionism is to organize those kinds of labor which are

* See an article by Michael Davitt in *The North American Review*, October, 1890.

likely to come on the market and be the means of depreciating wages or of displacing union men. For this reason, as well as out of direct motives of pity, the new unionists give every encouragement to the organization of women workers. The main burden of this work has been borne by two ladies—by Miss Clementina Black for London, and by Lady Dilke for the provinces. Lady Dilke's success with the tailoresses, and Miss Black's with the girls working in confectionery factories, have done much toward getting women's work established on a basis of regularity and justice.

The spirit of the New Unionism has gone among the tenement-house workers of London, including the tailoring and boot-making trades, which have been very badly sweated. These trades are now strongly demanding government inspection of the conditions of tenement-house work. Factory operatives—of whom there are comparatively few in London, the factories being mostly at the North—belong to the more conservative unions. Yet even they are by no means of one mind in rejecting the distinctive proposals of the new leaders.

A scheme which may have very far-reaching results has recently been launched by the new unionists. Realizing that the supply of "blacklegs," who give so much trouble at the docks,

comes mostly from the country, they have determined to try and make country life more endurable, and city life less fascinating. They propose to organize the agricultural laborers throughout England, and have already begun work in the counties from which most men come up to London. If this movement has any success, it will not only relieve the pressure at the docks, but it will mark the beginning of a great change in the aristocratic rural life which is characteristic of England. The fundamental question of the land would be sure to come up in such a case. But it is to be feared that the difficulties of organizing rural laborers and of getting advances in wages from the hard-pressed farmers have been somewhat underestimated. The part of their due which the laborers are deprived of goes, not to the farmer, but to the landlord. Nevertheless, one is glad to see any effort to better the condition of these poor people, who suffer under long hours, miserable wages, and a most monotonous existence.

Within the lines of the older organizations the New Unionism is making steady progress. It is not, of course, to be supposed that the new leaders wish to have the unions of the skilled adopt all the methods which are used by unions of the unskilled. For instance, the new unions differ from the old in that most of them have practically no

benefit or insurance features. The reason for this is that the fees must be kept as low as possible. Also many of the men are already members of friendly societies, and would be unwilling to join a union if they had to invest further in benefits. It is considered so important that all of the laborers at any one industry should so far as possible be united together for the sake of meeting effectively the strength of the capitalists, that the new unions are unwilling to introduce any feature which would divert from this main effort.

But though the methods of the new unions may not be adopted in detail by the old, the New Unionism is having a great influence upon the whole of organized labor. The new unionists are acquiring strength in the trades councils, the local consulting bodies. At the last two Trade Union Congresses, the new leaders have been successful in the most important issue presented, their demand for a legal eight-hours' working day. A large majority of the Congress of 1891 voted for such legislation, to be binding over all trades, excepting trades a majority of whose members should protest. It is significant that John Burns and Tom Mann were delegates, not from the Dockers' Union, but from the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

There are many impressive things about this great movement among the English laborers.

Nowhere outside of it at the present time can one see so well how strong are the forces that are making for the development and triumph of true democracy in Europe and America. The New Trade Unionism illustrates the unity of the labor movement. As it progresses, it uses suggestions from trade-union history; it is embodying practicable Socialism in its proposals for municipal and national action; it has sought the interest and advice of some leading co-operators with regard to the new plan of conducting dock labor; it has formally expressed confidence in the Salvation Army's scheme, and offered all possible assistance. Its success has shown in a fresh way the common feeling that exists among working men, and even suggests a time when trade unions in different countries shall be affiliated for mutual assistance. During the dock strike, there was contributed from Australia $180,000, mainly from the working men, to aid the dock laborers. While the strike in Australia lasted, during the summer of 1890, about $60,000 was sent out by English trade unions. To see laborers who a few years ago were deemed almost below being hoped for now, for the sake of seeing justice done, dividing their scanty earnings with the confectioner girls, the seamstresses, the farm hands, or with workingmen at the other end of the world, is

calculated to give one a fresh sense of what the brotherhood of humanity really is. The new unions, by bringing men into relations of this kind, as well as into united action with the immediate sharers of their labor, have accomplished a great deal toward the social and moral education of their members.

A wonderful momentum bears this movement on. It is by no means certain that the new unions will continue at their steady rate of progress,—indeed, the Dockers' Union may meet some calamity almost at any time, its difficulties are so many. But it is safe to say that the New Trade Unionism stands for some principles which it will surely carry over into the future of the English nation. It makes mistakes of policy. Not everything that has been done in its name can be justified on ethical grounds. And yet there has never been in the whole history of labor any great uprising more fully actuated by a real quality of statesmanship and the love of men.

The nature and success of the New Trade Unionism is in very large degree owing to its main official head, Tom Mann, and its unofficial leader, John Burns. Burns is of Scotch extraction, but was born in London. He has been an industrious worker from childhood. Since he was sixteen or seventeen he has always been at the front in labor

agitations. During the last half-dozen years he has been the most powerful Socialist speaker in England. Burns' work during the dock strike was something almost unparalleled. One hundred and twenty thousand of the lower grades of laborers were on strike, and it fell to him on the one hand to keep some from returning to work, and on the other to restrain this great, angry, and ungoverned mass of men from becoming a mob and instituting a commune in London. For six weeks he held them in almost unbroken control, until the strike was won. Since that time, Burns has given himself to his work on the London County Council, the governing body of the metropolis, and in addition holds himself ready for duty at any moment in connection with the labor movement. Now, he will be directing a strike of confectioner girls; now, addressing midnight meetings of 'bus and tram men; now, helping the dockers at Southampton; now, up in Scotland assisting with the railway strike.

John Burns is in no sense a revolutionary. He says—what is undeniable—that the working men are the masters of the future. But he says, "We are not going to tell them how much power they have until they become sufficiently educated to be worthy of it." He lays great stress upon the intellectual, social, and moral improvement of the in-

dividual working man. For this reason, he always prefers that strikes should be for decrease of time rather than for increase of wages. A visitor at Burns' home finds him at work at his desk, surrounded by books. They are the fruit of long self-denial. For the sake of some of them he has even gone hungry. The result is that he is a man of wide information and no little culture. He is always tasteful in his personal appearance and in his surroundings. He is fond of tracing the progress the dockers have made, by pointing out some touch of refinement in their conduct, or of beauty and comfort in their homes. On the other hand, he well deserves the title often given him, "Honest John Burns," as he exemplifies most fully the rugged virtues of temperance and straightforwardness, which are maintained by all the leaders of the New Unionism. None of the officers of the central executive of the Dockers' Union use either intoxicating drinks or tobacco. Burns and Mann have incomes from their work of not more than $15 a week, an amount which they could easily earn at their trade.

Tom Mann is no less interesting a character than John Burns. As a boy, he worked in a coal mine. He came up to London at the age of twenty-one, and entered upon the trade of a machinist. Before the dock strike, he had been

engaged as secretary to a committee of leading London citizens, with Sir John Lubbock for its chairman, which undertook to have the hours of work for shop assistants materially reduced—a movement which resulted in the Shop Hours Regulation Act. Mann's work in the directing of the dock strike displayed a high order of courage and administrative ability; while only such high ideals as his are could have sustained him in the arduous task of organizing the Dockers' Union. And all the time he has gone forward, not merely struggling against obstacles and keeping internal forces from disruption, but constantly taking new steps toward the development of his plan, which must have seemed too audacious to be attempted but for the strength of his faith and purpose. Like Burns, he is a man of no little education, the result of his own efforts. He has a very courteous bearing. His fair way of dealing with the dock directors has given them confidence in him, and has, no doubt, saved many a difficulty. Numbers of good people outside the working class are his admiring friends.

Mann does not have as a speaker the power of voice nor the great personal force that characterize Burns. Often, however, he goes beyond Burns in denunciation of the present industrial system. He has an element of prophetic feeling which

Burns lacks. His speeches exhibit the great labor struggle as a religious cause, and he calls upon men to go into it with all the courage and zeal of crusaders. He tells the East End laborers that he would have this new movement of oppressed humanity to be animated by no lower enthusiasm than that of Peter the Hermit, or even of Christ himself. Tom Mann—a labor agitator—is one of the finest figures in English life to-day.

It is doubtful whether any other two men in England of their years have such a widespread and hopeful influence. John Burns is thirty-two, though his recent work has made him look a dozen years older. Tom Mann is thirty-five. Their associates are of like age, or younger. Much is justly said nowadays in admiration of young men's movements at the universities, in the Church, and in politics; but, rightly considered, there is a still deeper meaning in this movement of the young men from the mines, the workshops, and the docks.

One cannot but be impressed with the fact that the English working men live a more rounded and developed life than the American, comparing grade with grade. No small proportion of them have an intelligent interest in the political questions of the day. They are learning to appreciate the healthful pleasures of social life. They are

beginning to care for a knowledge of history and literature. Of course, there are merely suggestions of such a tendency among unskilled laborers; and it is not strongly marked even among the artisans. But one never goes far among English working men without finding signs of this very hopeful influence. And the best of it is that progress of this kind, like the industrial progress of the trade unions, is largely the result of agencies acting within the lines of the working class. This influence has taken shape mainly in the working men's clubs, which are related to it both as cause and effect. The first working men's clubs were established twenty-eight years ago by a group of philanthropic men, who thought the attractions of the public house might be counteracted by institutions which should be to working men what a business or professional man's club is to him. The first clubs proved quite successful, and their number increased through the assistance of the promoters of the plan. At the beginning, no liquors were allowed, but afterwards it seemed to the leaders of the movement hardly reasonable that the rich man should be allowed his wine at his club while the poor man was refused his beer at his club. Since then, the clubs have nearly all allowed the use of liquors. About a dozen years ago, the general control of the clubs passed

entirely into the hands of the working men, though a few of the originators of the clubs still assist in one position or other. From this beginning as an independent working men's movement, the clubs have steadily developed and increased in number. In every manufacturing town of any size in England, there is something corresponding to a club, where working men can go in the evening, and read the papers, smoke their pipes, drink their beer, talk with their friends, and perhaps listen to a lecture or a concert. The fees amount to between ten and twenty cents a month. There are said to be in London alone two hundred independent working men's clubs. This, of course, does not include the large number of clubs carried on with the assistance of philanthropic persons.

A very good illustration of what a club can become is furnished by the Boro' of Hackney Working Men's Club. This is one of the oldest in London. It has had no financial assistance to speak of, but it now has $35,000 invested in its buildings, and has $2,500 in the bank. There are 1,600 members. In their building, they have a good-sized meeting hall with a complete stage, including scenery, greenrooms, and all appurtenances; a large billiard-room; a library and reading-room; social rooms and class-rooms. They have three or four entertainments a week during

the winter, to which the wives and sweethearts come. The concerts are ordinarily given by home talent, as the Club supports both a brass band and an orchestra. As to dramatic entertainments, not the worst companies on the road are those which make their main business that of supplying working-men's clubs with amusement. It shows to what a large extent working men are taking even their recreation into their own hands. The Boro' of Hackney Club usually has a lecture on Sunday morning. A large number of the clubs have lectures on Sunday; others have lectures on week-day evenings. The subjects of the lectures at the different clubs are mainly political and social, but scientific, literary, historical, and religious subjects are treated. The lecturers are often educated working men; but in the list of speakers published in the democratic papers every Saturday, persons from every walk of life and of every sort of opinion will be announced. This list taken through the winter would include several names of international reputation, and many well-known throughout England. At the Boro' of Hackney Club, the library numbers 4,000 volumes, which seem to be well used. Each winter a number of classes in the common branches, and in some of the more advanced, are carried on, which are open to all the members of the Club.

This Club, like the majority of the working men's clubs, is strongly Radical in politics, and exerts a good deal of influence in its district. Clubs which go actively into politics, keep themselves remarkably free from tendencies toward political corruption. They even preserve a healthy independence of party régime. In nearly all cases the clubs go to the support of law and order. Usually there are strict rules against intoxication in the club-rooms. But of course in the great number there are some clubs which become little more than places for escaping the restrictions on drinking in public houses.

From the beginning of the movement there has been a federation of the clubs. It is called the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, and now includes nearly four hundred clubs throughout England, representing a total membership of about 100,000. This Union is neutral in national politics, and mainly concerns itself with the development of the clubs socially and educationally. It issues cards to members of clubs, which will constitute them honorary members for the time being of any other allied club which they may care to visit. It organizes competitions and presents prizes for various sports and games. It is especially useful in increasing the educational value of the movement. Examinations are held

and prizes given for rhetorical work, and knowledge of history, political economy, and current social questions. There is a circulating library of over 4,000 volumes, from which thirty books at a time are lent to the clubs; and a reference library of over 2,000 volumes, from which any member may draw a book at a time. Facilities are provided for clubs to carry on classes in their own rooms. For ambulance classes, stretchers, diagrams, and all necessary apparatus are provided, and, in London, the services of duly qualified teachers are secured. For scientific classes, the Union provides the necessary outfit in the way of books and appliances. In connection with the Working Men's College, an admirable institution founded by Frederick Maurice, it is able to furnish to London clubs for a slight fee teachers in any subject they may choose to study. Of course, there is a great deal of discouragement in connection with this educational work, but the officers of the Union have hopes of making such work more and more prominent as a feature of club life. The Union is very useful in upholding the legal rights of the clubs, as they are nearly all incorporated under the Friendly Societies Act. It is probable that it will soon take up the question of the housing of the working class, and similar social topics, and endeavor to create

a right feeling among its members on these matters. The largest plan now on hand is that of a central hall which should be a headquarters fitted up with all club facilities, and open freely to every member of an affiliated club. The building would also be made a centre for working-class organizations of all kinds, to which they could come for conferences and meetings. This would help to free many a struggling trade union from an entangling alliance with the public house.

An important agency in the way of self-help among the working men is the friendly societies. These are numerous and some of them very strong. Some, however, are not on solid foundations. Their purpose is to assist working men to form habits of thrift. They are given up to their special insurance work, and rarely have any of the features of a club. The objects of these societies are summed up as follows in the Friendly Societies Act:

For the relief or maintenance of members or any of their immediate relatives during sickness or other infirmity, whether bodily or mental, in old age (which shall mean any age after fifty), or in widowhood, or for the relief or maintenance of the orphan children of members during minority;

For insuring money to be paid on the birth of a member's child, or on the death of a member, or for the funeral expenses of the husband, wife, or child of a

member, or the widow of a deceased member, or, as respects members of the Jewish persuasion, for the payment of a sum of money during the period of confined mourning;

For the relief or maintenance of the members when on travel in search of employment, or when in distressed circumstances, or in case of shipwreck, or loss or damage of or to boats and nets;

For the endowment of members or nominees of members at any age;

For the insurance against fire to any amount not exceeding fifteen pounds of the tools or implements of the trade or calling of the members;

Provided that no society (except as aforesaid) which contracts with any person for the assurance of an annuity exceeding fifty pounds per annum, or of a gross sum exceeding two hundred pounds, shall be registered under this Act.

Of course many of these benefit features are included in membership of trade unions. But, as we have seen, the new trade unionists insist that the functions of the trade union and of the friendly society should not be confused. However that may be, the virtue of thrift is very prominent among English working men.* A case before a charity committee is regarded as rather hopeless

* The postal savings banks and insurance offices exert a great influence in this direction. They are to a large extent the depositories of trade unions and friendly societies. Building and loan associations are numerous and useful.

when the applicant's family has not had membership in a friendly society. The combined lists of the three largest societies show a total of over a million and a half members. All the better societies are controlled by the members, and are conducted in their members' interest.

The most remarkable visible achievement of English working men is the co-operative societies.* The co-operative movement dates from the second decade of the century. But it was in 1844 that the Rochdale Pioneers gave a new start to the movement. Up to that time, most of the stores had pursued the plan of paying their dividends on the capital invested. This gave the benefits of the system to the investors and not to the purchasers. The Rochdale Pioneers took up the plan of paying merely current interest to the shareholders, and of dividing the profits with the purchasers. The marked influences toward the progress of working men during the following period did much to advance the cause of Co-operation. Food became cheaper through the repeal of the corn laws. The conditions of labor became greatly

* For books on Co-operation, there are, besides Holyoake's "History of Co-operation," a valuable little manual entitled "Working Men Co-operators," by Arthur H. Dyke Acland and Benjamin Jones, published by Cassell; and Miss Beatrice Potter's authoritative book, "The Co-operative Movement," published by Sonnenschein.

improved as a result of the factory acts, and also through the growing strength of trade unions. Working men's societies for self-help were given the protection of the law. Numbers of influential people began to take an interest in Co-operation, especially the Christian Socialists, led by Maurice, Kingsley, and Thomas Hughes. These men secured for Co-operation a large measure of public sympathy. For the past twenty-five years its history has been one of steady progress.

The Wholesale Society, in which the shares are held by the individual stores, began operations in 1864. The annual Co-operative Congress was first held in 1869. About this time energetic efforts were made to establish co-operative production, but they were only partially successful. Within the last few years co-operative production has again been taken up, with much more promise of success. At present, there are three wholesale warehouses, in London, Manchester, and Glasgow, among the largest and finest in the Kingdom, with branch warehouses at Newcastle, Bristol, and Leeds. There are a number of purchasing agencies in Ireland and in foreign countries. Six ships are owned and regularly used by the English and Scottish Wholesale Societies. There are more than fifteen hundred retail stores, which are often the most attractive in their towns or districts. There

are nearly thirty separate co-operative productive workshops and factories in close relation with the Wholesale Societies. Many co-operators hope that the difficulties of production will be met as distributive co-operation becomes strong enough to supply a steady market, and is able more and more to furnish information to producers as to the quality and quantity of goods required. The large productive plant of the Scottish Wholesale Society at Shieldhall, Glasgow, is enough to give good ground to their hope. Here seven separate industries are carried on, each on a comparatively large scale, with the most modern appliances, and employing altogether over a thousand hands. The total annual business done by co-operative societies in the United Kingdom at the present time amounts to more than one hundred and ninety millions of dollars, with a net profit to members of about twenty millions.

The retail stores are usually begun in a small way at a public meeting by getting fifty or a hundred working men each to contribute from five to twenty-five dollars. Often at first the store is open only part of the time, in order to keep down expenses. As the store prospers, a regular storekeeper and assistants are employed. The prices put upon goods are the current rates charged by the store-keepers of the neighborhood. The benefits

of co-operation are reaped in a three-fold way: by a five per cent. dividend to shareholders; by a dividend on the profits, returned to purchasers according to the amount they have bought; and by a bonus to employees. The amount of interest paid on capital shares is almost without exception limited to five per cent. The legal limit to the amount of capital to be held by any one person, in societies coming under the Friendly Societies Act, is $1,000; but some societies put the limit much below this. The reason for this is that the larger body of purchasers wish to keep down the amount paid in interest so that the amount paid in purchasers' dividends may be greater.

But notwithstanding this tendency the wealth of the societies gradually increases, and they take newer lines of trade. The more progressive co-operators would like to have every society act as a sort of bank for its members, receiving all the capital they offer, and constantly developing the business both of distribution and production. It is the carrying out of this policy which has brought about the wholesale stores, and the productive industries that already exist. The profits distributed to members average from seven and a half to ten per cent. on the purchases, though sometimes they are nearly twice as much. In some stores, members are compelled to purchase a certain

amount per quarter; but others have no such restriction. The plan of giving a bonus to employees is, strangely enough, not followed to any great extent. Co-operators often consider their interests as receivers of dividends to the detriment of their movement and of social progress generally. It is too largely true of co-operators, as of the old trade unionists, that they belong to an aristocracy of labor. Both of these movements have accomplished marvels for the elevation of the working class; they have developed a body of working men who are in some respects the strength of the British nation. But in both there is a tendency to be self-contained, and satisfied with what has already been accomplished.

Much is to be hoped for from a group of enthusiastic young co-operators who, with the assistance of some able men and women not of the working class, are trying to make co-operation have a broader and deeper social influence. Their hope is that all co-operative stores may become—what some already are—centres of social life. They would pay much more attention to education, especially by having libraries at the stores, and by having University Extension lectures given under the auspices of the stores. This younger body of men has caught something of the spirit of the New Trade Unionism. They

wish to bring the strength of the co-operative movement to bear for the improvement of the condition of the unskilled and the unemployed. A Co-operative Aid Association has recently been formed in London, which has for its object to assist both with advice and loans of money groups of working men who have been under oppression and can be induced to seek the freedom of a system of co-operative production.

The young men who take the lead of the Co-operative Aid do not really belong to the ranks of working men. They have given up opportunities of advancement which their talents would easily secure them, for the sake of identifying themselves with the different movements that go to form the one comprehensive labor movement. Beside being in no small degree the fresh life of Co-operation, they are identified with the general management of the Club and Institute Union, and one of them at least is a valued friend and adviser of the leaders of the Dockers' Union. It is through such men as these that the members of the so-called upper and lower classes are coming to understand each other. It is soon found on each side that there are unexpected and perhaps unknown virtues in the other; and it begins to be felt on both sides that to live within the limits of a class belittles manhood.

II

SOCIALISM

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.—MR. H. M. HYNDMAN.—THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, AND WILLIAM MORRIS.—THE FABIAN SOCIETY.—THE NEW FELLOWSHIP.—FABIAN ESSAYS, LECTURES, AND CAMPAIGNS.—THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST SOCIETY AND THE GUILD OF ST. MATTHEW.—THE LAND NATIONALIZATION SOCIETY AND THE LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.—SOCIALISTIC TENDENCIES IN MUNICIPAL AND NATIONAL POLITICS.

IT is less than ten years since the first of the existing English Socialist organizations was established. In 1881, a group of educated men formed the "Democratic Federation," which at the beginning held merely Radical party views. But under the leadership of Mr. H. M. Hyndman it grew more and more socialistic, and in 1883 the name of the society became the "Social Democratic Federation." As this name suggests the German Socialist organizations, it is generally taken for granted that the Federation is transplanted from Continental soil. It is true that Carl Marx, during

his residence in London, had a good deal of influence with Mr. Hyndman and other persons of extreme tendencies. There have also been numerous German refugees in London from time to time. But the membership of the different Socialist organizations has been made up almost wholly of English people, and their programmes have to a large extent taken character from the distinctive nature and circumstances of English life.

Mr. Hyndman is a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge. At the time of his espousal of Socialism, he was a wealthy member of West End society. It is a fair test of his honesty that he was shunned by his former associates, and expelled from his club; and that he spent a fortune to advance the new cause. He is still, perhaps, the leading exponent of Socialism in England, so far as knowledge of the subject goes. His organization, too, is the largest of all, and is now made up almost exclusively from the working class. Mr. Hyndman is not, however, a man of agreeable personality. This hinders him from becoming a great popular leader, and has been the cause of the Federation's losing some valuable men. This explains why William Morris, the poet, left the Federation and formed the Socialist League. It also explains to a large extent the more recent defection of John Burns and Tom Mann.

The Federation has carried on a vigorous propagandist campaign. In all parts of London, as well as in the other cities, it has established branches which keep up a constant series of meetings, mainly in the open air. The people who conduct these meetings sometimes do not represent the most industrious and respectable elements of the working class; but very often the officers of the local branches are skilled workers having good positions, tasteful in their appearance, and modest and agreeable in their bearing. A large number of tracts and pamphlets are published, and a weekly paper called *Justice*. The marked increase of socialistic feeling among working men is to be credited to the Federation, for its original impulse at least.

An important part of the work of the Federation—as also of the Socialist League—has been that of holding persistently before the people of London the problem of the unemployed. The years 1886, 1887, and 1888 saw a long series of agitated meetings, disturbances, and even riots, in which the leaders were nearly all Socialists. The worst of these affairs was a parade of unemployed from the East End through aristocratic Mayfair, in which a great deal of damage was done, especially to the windows of the clubs where the sons of the aristocracy are wont to sit. The

meetings at Trafalgar Square, which the police finally succeeded in suppressing, were all occupied with the troubles and threats of men willing to work, but without the opportunity. Several times the unemployed appeared in a great crowd in front of some leading church on Sunday merely to be seen by the worshippers as they passed in—perhaps with the hope of suggesting some contrasts between original Christianity and the present kind. Once they exercised their privilege as Londoners, and all went to St. Paul's; once they went to Westminster Abbey. In these and other ways the Socialists have done much toward getting attention fixed upon the East End of London and its dangerous problem of poverty and degradation. Had it not been for these things by way of preparation, there might not have been the public sympathy which helped so much to win the dock strike, and still supports the new trade unions. After leading up thus to a more definite work of organization, the agitations of the unemployed have practically ceased; but this is not to be construed as indicating that the vast number of men out of work has perceptibly decreased.

The new trade unions are the offspring of the Social Democratic Federation. This is none the less so though the leaders of the New Unionism were rejected by their brethren of the Federation.

John Burns says that he tries to have a Socialist for secretary of a branch union whenever it is possible. His reason is that such a one is likely to have ideals, and therefore to be honest and intelligent. Nine-tenths of the officers of the Gas Workers' and General Laborers' Union are said to be Socialists. Every part of the programme laid out by the Dockers' Union is socialistic.

The remarkable progress of the new unions, and their increasing influence in the Trade Union Congress, have gradually opened the eyes of the members of the Social Democratic Federation to the value of trade unions as a means of development. They formerly doubted this because they saw only the attitude taken by the old and well-established unions. They speak much more favorably of the possibilities of trade unionism now.

The Federation nominates its own candidates for parish, municipal, and parliamentary offices. It will often support a candidate against a Radical who is proposing the same immediate measures as the Socialist. The reason for keeping strictly independent is the fear that candidates may be led away by flattery, if not by money. Further to prevent traitors, there is a very severe proviso. Before any candidate begins his canvass, he must leave with the Federation committee his resignation of the office for which he is standing; the

resignation to be handed in by the committee, if in their judgment he proves unfaithful to Socialist principles.

The Social Democratic Federation, whatever it may have been in the past, is not now a revolutionary body. It has of late been growing steadily more moderate. Mr. Hyndman says the first step must be to get the apathy, ignorance, and jealousy of the working class removed. He lays great stress upon the spread of education. He urges the eight-hours bill for the sake of giving working men a better chance to improve themselves. He says that the only hope of changing present conditions is in getting hold of the government. He would not use force, for the reason that force would not succeed. The plan would be to capture municipal councils, school boards, and even Parliament as far as possible. Side by side with the political movement, he would have the working men organized so as to take advantage at once of every opportunity to increase their power in industrial and commercial affairs.

The platform of the Social Democratic Federation is as follows:

OBJECT.

The socialization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be controlled by a democratic state in the interests of the entire community; and the complete emancipation of labor.

PROGRAMME.

1. All officers or administrators to be elected by equal direct adult suffrage, and to be paid by the community.

2. Legislation by the people in such wise that no project of law shall become legally binding till accepted by the majority of the people.

3. The abolition of a standing army, and the establishment of a national citizen force; the people to decide on peace or war.

4. All education, higher no less than elementary, to be free, compulsory, secular, and industrial, for all alike.

5. The administration of justice to be free and gratuitous for all members of society.

6. The land, with all the mines, and the railways and other means of transit, to be declared and treated as collective or common property.

7. Ireland and all other parts of the Empire to have legislative independence.

8. The production of wealth to be regulated by society in the common interest of all its members.

9. The means of production, distribution, and exchange, to be declared and treated as collective or common property.

As measures called for to palliate the evils of our existing society, the Social Democratic Federation urges for immediate adoption:

The compulsory construction of artisans' and agricultural laborers' dwellings in proportion to the population, such dwellings to be let at rents, to cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone.

Free compulsory education for all classes, together with the provision of at least one wholesome meal a day in each school.

Eight hours or less to be the normal working day in all trades.

Cumulative taxation upon all incomes above a fixed minimum not exceeding £300 a year.

State appropriation of railways; municipal control of gas, water, and tramway companies.

The establishment of national banks which shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit.

Rapid extinction of the national debt.

Nationalization of the land, and organization of agricultural and industrial armies under state or municipal control, on co-operative principles.

As means for the peaceable attainment of these objects the Social Democratic Federation advocates:

Payment of members and payment of official expenses of election, out of the rates. Adult suffrage. Annual Parliaments. Proportional representation. Abolition of the House of Lords and all hereditary authorities. Disestablishment and disendowment of all state churches. Extension of the powers of county councils.

The Socialist League takes its character very largely from its leader, William Morris. Morris, while at Oxford, came under the influence of Ruskin, and has not a little of Ruskin's fondness for some of the ways of earlier and simpler types of society. As far as possible, he would have the

medieval system of guilds of handicraft brought back. He abjures politics. He would have in his socialistic commonwealth very little central government. His plan is to have people dwell together in free communal groups, sufficiently small so that every member could participate in the management of affairs. This brings the Socialist League's platform very near to that of the Anarchists, and many of the members of the League call themselves Anarchist-Communists. Of Anarchists, properly speaking, there are in England very few.

Morris's protest against the present social system is that of an artist and poet. He sees public taste decaying, the artist and the artisan being degraded, through the influence of a soulless commercialism. The whole grinding, mechanical process of current civilization is abhorrent to him. The ugliness and wretchedness of an English manufacturing town or mining district express to him the fact that as long as men and nature are viewed chiefly as means of acquiring money, there can be no progress among the people toward a happier and more beautiful life. This intense feeling of recoil from the present conditions of the existence of the majority of his countrymen, would have made many men pessimistic reactionaries. But Morris sees that the forces of history cannot turn back. His strong hope for the future, to-

gether with his impatience of the mechanical methods of politics and of trade organization, have made him a revolutionary.

The immediate proposals of the Socialist League seem fanciful enough. They call for a no-rent movement and a general strike. The plan of the no-rent movement, as outlined by articles in *The Commonweal*, the now defunct organ of the Socialist League, is for a house in the slums to be taken and garrisoned with a few resolute men, prepared to ward off the rent collector with such proletarian ammunition as "bottles, bricks, stones, hot water, and missiles of all kinds." If the defence prove vigorous and successful, it is expected that the whole street will rise in rebellion, and thence the no-rent movement spread into every district in London. As to the general strike, it is suggested that the workers of a town or district should all strike under a pretext of demanding the eight-hours' day, but with a real aim of bringing in the social revolution. At any rate, all who desire the social revolution are to be prepared for the time which is soon expected when the trade unionists shall despair of getting the eight-hours' day by parliamentary enactment, and shall, it is predicted, be driven to settle the question by a united insurrection.

These come as near to forming a definite plan of

action as do any propositions made by members of the League. There are many vague revolutionary threats thrown out, but no attempt is made to enact them. The farthest step taken in the no-rent movement, of which the writer heard, was that of a pale youth who announced that he had marked with red one of the no-rent articles in *The Commonweal*, and had slipped the paper under the door of a man who was having trouble with his landlord. In fact, William Morris says very little about the way in which the social revolution is to be brought about. He is confident, however, that the present social system is fast bringing on its own dissolution. Of late he has begun to have more hope than before in the power of trade unions. But the Socialist League, in general, is occupied with exposing the iniquity of present conditions, and comparing them with the features of the coming social commonwealth.

It can easily be understood that such methods as these do not get much support from the hard-headed, unpoetic English working man. The League is steadily diminishing in numbers, and probably before long it will be merely a single society meeting at Morris's home in London. Apart from the results of the agitation it has carried on, the League has had an important place in the socialistic movement in two respects. It

has emphasized the necessity of international Socialism, and has been a refuge for men who have had to leave the Continental countries on account of their revolutionary attitude. But the League will be remembered especially on account of the work of William Morris. For seven or eight years he has paid a large share of the expenses of the League, and has put himself on the same plane with the humblest member as to duties to be performed. The figure of the poet, clad in the garb of an artisan, addressing a crowd of working men at the street corner, on such a subject as "Art for the People," calls up suggestions moral as well as picturesque. And Morris has had a deep influence, both directly and indirectly, in the artistic circles of London. A distinct phase of English Radicalism and Socialism is that of men who look at the present industrial and commercial system first of all from the æsthetic point of view, and decide that without some fundamental changes, true art—art yielding its benefits to the whole people, and in turn getting its inspiration from the whole people—will be quite impossible. These men look upon William Morris as their leader, and without sharing all of his visionary ideas, they feel that his denunciation of our present life is the message of a real prophet.

The most important of the Socialist organiza-

tions, by far, is the Fabian Society. In 1883, Mr. Thomas Davidson, formerly one of the lecturers at the Concord School of Philosophy, stopped long enough in London on his way to Italy, to open a discussion among a little circle of people, mainly literary and journalistic workers, as to the new moral and social duties of the present time. As the discussion was continued, it was not long till a divergence appeared. One group was most impressed by the need of a new and more strenuous application of ethics to personal life. The other felt that this would be to neglect the greater matter of social ethics, and, moreover, that personal character, in these times above all, could be developed only by entering into active service among men. The one group became the New Fellowship; the other became the Fabian Society. The New Fellowship is socialistic in feeling, but instead of dealing with the larger economic questions, takes up the practical problems of every-day life—such as the ethics of the relation between a merchant and his employees, the ethics of purchasing goods which have been produced under unjust conditions, the ethics of having two social classes in the home. The object of the New Fellowship is, by discussions and printed matter and by co-operative experiments in home and neighborhood life, to show how far we are in many of our cus-

toms and habits from obeying the law of service, according to which we are all interdependent, each person being, as regards every other, always an end in himself. The New Fellowship insists that the outcome of this principle must be thoroughgoing social equality.

The Fabian Society was not at first definitely socialistic. For two years it held drawing-room meetings for economic discussion. Its leading members, all of them educated men, gave close study to Marx and other Socialist writers, especially trying to see in what way the socialistic idea could be introduced into current politics. They joined one of the amateur parliaments, of which there were a large number in London a few years ago, and being appointed to the government they presented and carried a long list of socialistic bills. From that time the Society began to publish its political tracts. In the winter of 1888 it began to hold public meetings. At these meetings the lectures were given which have since been published, with an additional chapter, as the "Fabian Essays."* The Essays give a very able exposition of Socialism at its best, except for the somewhat unethical attitude of Mr. Bernard Shaw, the brilliant editor of the book—a point in which the other writers disagree with him entirely. Some of the tracts published by the Society are: "Why are

* London: Walter Scott.

the Many Poor"; "Facts for Socialists," containing statistics with regard to the relative income and conditions of the different social classes; "Facts for Londoners," an exhaustive collection of statistics with regard to large enterprises in London which might be municipalized easily and soon; "An Eight-hours Bill," introducing for the first time a trade-option clause, by which, if the bill were passed, it would be effective only in those trades which should adopt it by a majority vote of the workers.

With the first public meetings and the successful circulation of the earlier tracts, the Society entered fairly upon its work of political education and action. In the formal meetings of the Society, the discussions have been mainly upon Socialism in its theoretical and historical aspects. The meetings are held in a central place and are largely attended. After the introductory papers are read, a free expression of view is had from persons of every variety of economic opinion in the whole circuit, from the extreme Individualists, around again to the extreme Anarchists—two parties of rather different intellectual and social position according to present standards, who find themselves curiously at one in their arguments against moderate Socialism.

Every year the Fabian Society sends out a list

of about sixty lecturers, with their subjects, who are ready to speak without charge other than expense incurred. Some of the lectures are stated to be solely for drawing-room meetings. Others are offered for any sort of gathering, in-doors or out. The Society also offers to supply courses of lectures on different topics connected with Socialism, as well as on "Elementary Political Economy" and "The History of the Nineteenth Century in England."

A very active and effective campaign has been carried on in the way of lectures at the working men's clubs. In this way, socialistic feeling has been aroused to a remarkable extent among London working men during the past few years. The clubs furnish a very hopeful field for the Fabian propaganda. They are always on the look-out for suitable lecturers from week to week. Their members are especially interested in industrial and political questions, and are almost universally ready to take a strong Radical attitude on current issues. With platforms and audiences thus awaiting them, all the Fabians have had to do has been to detail several of their ablest men into this special service, with the most of the rest of the Society to be called upon when needed. Their main effort has been to get the working men enlisted for a series of immediate practical reforms

in the way of government control, rather than to persuade them of the correctness of theoretical Socialism. In all cases the club members are free to ask questions, and thoroughly to discuss the subject in hand. Throughout this movement, which has all gone on so quietly as hardly to be noticed from the outside, the intelligence and moderation of the Fabian speakers, combined with their evident desire to identify themselves with the interests of the working class, have presented Socialism to working men in an entirely new light. It has been this effort, along with some other influences, that has made the body of London working men pass definitely away from the old Individualist Radicalism; with the result that their demands for comprehensive social legislation are now something that must be seriously treated with by the leaders of the Liberal party.

Not long ago the executive of the Fabian Society decided that this work had fairly accomplished its end in London for the present. They therefore determined to turn their efforts toward the North country. The prospect did not seem very hopeful, as Lancashire is the home of Co-operation and the Old Trade Unionism. The Northern working men are a better race than those of the South. They are thrifty, independent, and not altogether unsatisfied with the present state of things. Still,

the Society was encouraged by a gift of money sufficient to cover expenses, and about sixty lectures by ten different speakers were arranged for in the autumn of 1890. The lectures were given before a variety of kinds of audience, in churches, political clubs, social clubs, co-operative society halls, and to branches of the Federation and the League. The main object of the Lancashire campaign was to urge a political platform which should attempt, by measures for government control or ownership, to equalize some of the unjust conditions of the working class. Some subjects of lectures were: "Practicable Land Nationalization," "The Politics of Labor," "The Case for an Eight-hours Bill," "Co-operation and Socialism," "What Socialism Means." This campaign was a success in that the Fabian Society has shown the Northern working men that Socialism, in its present proposals at least, is not only not dangerous, but is merely a development of principles they have already accepted as Radicals. Sometimes, in the discussions that always followed the lectures, men asserted that the Fabian proposals were no advance at all on the old Radicalism which they had been following. But the lecturers were not so anxious to prove that their solution was new as that it was true, and accepted this criticism along with the expressions of interest and, in

many cases, of full sympathy, as indicating results considerably greater than they had expected.

It is an especial point with the Fabian Society that its members shall work with the Liberal party. At first it seemed as if the Liberal leaders would either ignore them or else cast them out. But they have intrenched themselves so strongly that their reforms seem likely to be thoroughly canvassed within the lines of the party. The Fabians join the local Liberal organizations. They stand for local offices. They send up resolutions to the central political body. Many of them are members of the National Liberal Club in London. There has recently been formed in London the Metropolitan Radical Federation, representing working men's clubs having a total membership of 25,000. Mainly under the direction of Mr. Graham Wallas, of the Fabian Society, this Federation has put forth a Radical platform which practically embodies the Fabian proposals. Under the process called "heckling"—that is, besieging with questions—nearly every Liberal candidate in London has been compelled to assent to this platform. The Metropolitan Radical Federation is now only waiting the proper time to launch a movement through the country at large. If Home Rule for Ireland seems likely to be gained soon, a delay will be made. If not, the

Federation will insist that a somewhat distant and uncertain measure shall no longer keep back consideration of matters vitally concerning vast masses of the people of England. The nature of the situation may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Sidney Webb, the political leader of the Fabian Society, was not long ago consulted by Mr. John Morley as to what representative of the Radicals he would propose for a place in the next Liberal cabinet.*

The Fabian Society takes its name, of course, from Fabius of Rome. Its motto is this: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently, when warring against Hannibal, though many censured his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard, as Fabius did, or your waiting will be in vain and fruitless." The Society's prospectus gives a statement of the objects to be gained by this policy of masterly delay:

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists.

It therefore aims at the reorganization of society by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting them in the community for the general benefit. In this way only can the natural and acquired advantages of the country be equitably shared by the whole people.

The Society accordingly works for the extinction of

* Mr. Webb has more political influence than is suspected, and does important editorial writing.

private property in land and of the consequent individual appropriation, in the form of rent, of the price paid for permission to use the earth, as well as for the advantages of superior soils and sites.

The Society, further, works for the transfer to the community of the administration of such industrial capital as can conveniently be managed socially. For, owing to the monopoly of the means of production in the past, industrial inventions and the transformation of surplus income into capital have mainly enriched the proprietary class, the worker being now dependent on that class for leave to earn a living.

If these measures be carried out without compensation (though not without such relief to expropriated individuals as may seem fit to the community), rent and interest will be added to the reward of labor, the idle class now living on the labor of others will necessarily disappear, and practical equality of opportunity will be maintained by the spontaneous action of economic forces with much less interference with personal liberty than the present system entails.

For the attainment of these ends, the Fabian Society looks to the spread of Socialist opinions, and the social and political changes consequent thereon. It seeks to promote these by the general dissemination of knowledge as to the relation between the individual and society in its economic, ethical, and political aspects.

It will be seen from this statement that the members of the Fabian Society are careful to avoid Utopian Socialism. They hold closely to the study of actual facts. It is their effort to show that Social-

ism is a necessary induction from the social history of the past few centuries, and that the tendencies of the present time are gradually but surely carrying us toward a socialistic commonwealth. They seek constantly to assist all of these tendencies in whatever way may seem most favorable. They do not, therefore, uphold a mere mechanical State Socialism. They are proposing now to have the central government control only the large interests affecting the whole country, such as the land, the railroads, and the mines. The management of other enterprises they would leave to the cities and towns to be carried out in a way to suit local circumstances. The Fabians also welcome and assist the movement of the new trade unions toward economic Socialism; though with regard to economic Socialism they do not agree with the members of the Socialist League in holding that each industry ought to be carried on for the benefit especially of the workers in that industry. They hold that ultimately all industries must be conducted in the interest of the whole social body.

Perhaps the leading immediate proposal of the Fabian Society, in addition to the regular Radical platform, is the taxation of ground rents in cities. Besides this, its members urge the national ownership of railroads, and the municipal owner-

ship of gas and water supply, tramways, docks, markets, and hospitals. They are calling for an increase of the activity of city and parish authorities in carrying out the provisions of sanitary legislation and of the laws for the housing of the working class.

The more active members of the Fabian Society are young men who are rapidly rising in their different spheres of work. Several of them hold important positions in the civil service. Among these are Mr. Sidney Webb, author of the book "Socialism in England," and lecturer on Political Economy at the Working Men's College,* and Mr. Sidney Olivier, who has recently been entrusted with the reconstruction of the government of the colony of British Honduras. Mr. William Clarke has edited a volume of selections from Mazzini, and writes for different periodicals and newspapers in England and America. Mr. Graham Wallas has recently been commissioned by the Charity Organization Society—a body that is far from being socialistic—to spend a year or more in studying the possibility of increasing the functions of municipal governments, and to report in a series of lectures.

* This book gives a valuable account of the subject, but it makes rather exaggerated claims as to the supporters and results of Socialism. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

Mrs. Annie Besant, the ablest and most interesting woman reformer in England during the years just past, has unfortunately left the Fabian Society, and given up nearly all her social work, in order to undertake more fully the culture of Theosophy. A large proportion of the two hundred members of the Society are persons not only of culture, but of experience in the world's affairs. All walks of life are represented. Among the most widely known members are the Rev. Stopford Brooke, Mr. Walter Crane, the artist, and Mr. Grant Allen. The Society is at no trouble to increase its membership. It aims at the spread of its principles rather than of its name. A Fabian Society has, however, been formed in Birmingham, and one in Manchester; but each is quite independent of the parent organization.

The increase of Socialism in England is by no means restricted to a few associations, though they are the nucleus of it all. It is much more than a working-class movement. It has its strong supporters at the universities. It is an important fact that the educated Socialists have themselves felt the stress of competition in their own work. Many of them belong to the "literary proletariat" which is gradually being formed as a result of the increase of education and the entrance of women into the professions. The presence in the move-

ment of men who combine university training with a keen sense of the social injustice under which they themselves suffer, is adding a new and unexpected element of strength to the forces of Socialism. The character of some of the upholders of Socialism is compelling thoughtful persons to consider its claims for what they are worth. Even the aristocratic circles of society are not proof against it. Indeed, the feeling of sympathy among upper-class people leads much more quickly toward Socialism than the cold self-interest of many in the middle class.

Christian Socialism is spreading, though as yet it has not collected much of its strength into organizations. In the Dissenting churches, while many of the younger ministers hold very radical views, the number of avowed Socialists is comparatively small. But, in the Church of England, one might fairly say that there is a strong socialistic movement. A group of forty London clergymen, nearly all Socialists, meet during the winter to consider what attitude they shall take toward specific labor troubles. A good part of the young High Churchmen, often the best representatives of the universities and of the upper social class, are facing the problems of poverty in London and other towns. This experience, together with the new enthusiasm of

humanity, which is running so strongly in the High Church party, is making many of them Socialists.

The two main organizations of Christian Socialists are the Christian Socialist Society and the Guild of St. Matthew. The Christian Socialist Society is a body of small membership which holds fortnightly meetings in London through the winter. At these meetings a rather thorough course of economic study is gone through, and current issues are discussed from the socialistic point of view. A very good monthly paper, *The Christian Socialist*, is published, but financial difficulties seem likely to end its career. The attitude of the Society is best expressed by its own statement:

MANIFESTO.

Christian Socialism aims at embodying the principles contained in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ in the industrial organization of society.

The Christian Socialist Society believes that by the changes which it advocates in the industrial system men will be enabled, under the altered conditions of modern life, to put into practice the principles taught by Christ in all their dealings with one another as fellow-men and fellow-citizens.

The Society is independent of special theological views, and welcomes as members those who desire to subordinate their private advantage to the good of the

commonwealth and of mankind, and to strive for the knowledge and the power of doing it in the best and highest manner possible.

AIMS OF THE SOCIETY.

The union of men in a real universal brotherhood.

Public control of land and capital, to be gradually assumed, and the organization of society on a basis of rightly directed industry and moral worth (rather than of wealth, privilege, and monopoly, as at present); industry being understood to comprise both mental and manual work.

The fullest possible development of the powers and faculties of each member of the community by the provision of a liberal education, physical, mental, and industrial.

The consequent ennobling of domestic and national life, and the promotion of enlarged peaceful relations with all men.

The Guild of St. Matthew combines radical social views with the support of High Church principles. There are about two hundred members of the Guild through the country. Its method has been to put out a list of about forty of its members who are willing to lecture on subjects connected with Christian Socialism. It has not organized local associations, but has depended on the more general influence of its supporters. The objects of the Guild are:

1. To get rid, by every possible means, of the exist-

ing prejudices, especially on the part of "Secularists," against the Church—her sacraments and doctrines; and to endeavor to "justify God to the people."

2. To promote frequent and reverent worship in the Holy Communion, and a better observance of the teaching of the Church of England as set forth in the Book of Common Prayer.

3. To promote the study of social and political questions in the light of the Incarnation.

It was the Guild of St. Matthew which by a strong memorial called out the favorable deliverance of the Pan-Anglican Conference upon the social questions when it met in London in 1888. The leader of the Guild is the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, who edits *The Church Reformer*, the organ of the Guild. Mr. Headlam's influence is somewhat hindered by his being under the ban of the Bishop of London on account of his promoting the Church and Stage Guild, which on the one hand upholds the theatre and theatrical dancing, and on the other endeavors to bring theatrical men and women under the influence of the Church. Notwithstanding this difficulty, St. Matthew's Guild has done a valuable work, and includes a number of influential Churchmen. It seems likely now, however, that the Christian Social Union, which has been formed under the auspices of the Pusey House at Oxford, will draw off a good deal of the support of the Guild.

Knowing what a strong tendency there is in the direction of Socialism in all the religious bodies, one can account for the fact that larger numbers of clergymen have not identified themselves with Christian Socialist organizations by the general feeling among progressive Christians in England that Christianity itself condemns the present social conditions of the poor and of the rich, and demands, independently of any external movement, that society should undergo a series of radical reforms, if not a gradual reorganization.

The movement for Land Nationalization has of late years been closely identified with the socialistic movement. Many land reformers have become Socialists; while most Socialists think that the gradual abolition of the private ownership of land will lead easily to the abolition of the private ownership of capital. It is for this reason that Land Nationalization does not receive so much individual prominence as before. But its being associated with other movements has, nevertheless, added a great deal of strength to its support. There are two organizations that carry on a distinct propaganda, the Land Nationalization Society and the Land Restoration League. The Land Nationalization Society would abolish all private property in land, but would compensate dispossessed landowners to an extent not exceeding

the net income they derive from the land. As a practical programme, it advocates:

The acquisition by public bodies of land for allotments, crofts, small holdings, and other public purposes.

The right of public access to rivers, mountains, moors, and uncultivated lands generally.

Reservation to the state of all future unearned increment of land values.

Taxation of land values.

The Society opposes:

The alienation of any land now held by the crown, or by any public body.

Encroachments on existing commons, roadside wastes, foot-paths, and rights of way.

Measures tending to increase the number of owners of land and involving merely transfer of ownership.

The president of the Land Nationalization Society is Professor Alfred Russell Wallace, who now avows himself a Socialist.

The Land Restoration League follows Henry George in holding that private ownership in land must be done away through an increasing tax on land values until the whole annual value of land is taken in taxation for public purposes. It does its work through numerous lectures by its members, through publishing tracts and issuing petitions, and through political action. Like the Fabian Society, it has much influence among the working-men's clubs.

The question of the land is rapidly becoming an issue in practical politics in England. In a large proportion of Scotch constituencies candidates have to pledge themselves to Land Nationalization. The evil of the present form of land tenure is bitterly felt in Scotland. There seventy men own half the land of the country, and little villages of crofters are constantly being evicted in order to make room for deer parks for English aristocrats, and for some American ones, too. In English cities and towns the rebellion against the landlord system is every day becoming stronger. There are several members of Parliament who are earnestly advocating municipalization of land. The earlier Liberal policy which proposed for country laborers a system of small holdings and peasant proprietorship is rapidly being given up. It is beginning to be seen that farming on a small scale must fail in an age of vast combined production. Thus, the issue lies between an increased power of the landlord, on the one hand, and some form of public control, on the other.

The Liberal party is definitely pledged to a just and equitable taxation of land values and ground rents. Even such a movement as this would effect a great change in London where certain of the nobility not only get the unearned increment on acres of land in the midst of the city, but pay

a small rate of tax on a valuation which is said to have been assessed two hundred years ago. The Liberals are also pledged to the abolition of the "breakfast table" duties on tea, coffee, and cocoa, which, of course, come mainly from the mass of the people. It is interesting to notice that the Financial Reform Association in the North of England, founded by Cobden and Bright to advance the cause of absolute free trade, has been naturally led toward the increasing land tax as the proper means of national revenue. There is in London a "Joint Committee for the Taxation of Ground Rents and Values," which is supported by many influential men. It has secured approval of its plan of special taxation of urban land from a large number of members of Parliament, and from a strong majority of the London County Council.*

These various movements which have been described seem to be in reality only part of a larger, less defined tendency which appears nearly everywhere among English people. It is the feeling that they must, in their organized capacity as city or nation, take measures to lessen the social inequalities of the time. Social politics is agitated in all kinds of governing bodies, from the local vestries and parish boards upward.

* "Socialism in England," page 58.

This enlargement of the functions of government in all its departments is partly the cause of the decentralization which has gone on during the past few years. The cities are now governed by councils of their citizens, which have a large measure of power free from parliamentary interference. This fact is contributing still more to the remarkable progress in the administration of English municipalities. It adds to the feeling of loyalty which an English citizen has for his city, and leads many of the best men to seek city offices. The London County Council is hardly behind the House of Commons in its *personnel*, and is not insignificant in comparison of business transacted. Even the London School Board has a considerable importance. The process of granting local autonomy is next to be extended, as far as practicable, to the districts of London and the other cities. These for the most part retain their old village names, and have local interests of their own. The present movement tends to restore to them some of the healthy political life which ill-devised city governments took away. This reanimation of the body politic in all its parts will best enable it to put through the vast social work it is compelled to undertake.

The English cities are a remarkable example of purity in government and comprehensiveness of

function. Birmingham, Manchester, and Glasgow show how important a municipality may become as a social unit in the more complex organization of the State. These towns make it their object to care for the needs of all the citizens, even the humblest; while they succeed to a remarkable degree in securing the loyalty and service of all, even the best. There is little of the feeling in England, which is prevalent in America, of reluctance to soil the hands with city politics. It was such men as George Dawson, preaching from his pulpit the duties of citizenship; Joseph Chamberlain, though having apparently far greater prospects, taking a seat in the City Council and getting his friends to follow him; Dr. R. W. Dale, "the great Liberal," serving for many years on the School Board—that have made Birmingham what it is, one of the best managed municipalities in the world.

Cities like these are well able to take the lead in directing enterprises that closely affect the life of all the citizens. In Birmingham, the city owns the water, the gas, baths, parks, libraries, art galleries, and an art school. The school system is the best in England. The method of sewerage and sanitation is almost as complete and painstaking as could be devised. Glasgow owns the tramway road beds, and has municipal tenement-

and lodging-houses. One English town, Huddersfield, owns and manages the tramways. Under individual enterprise they could not be made to pay. Now they pay for themselves, and that, too, on a basis of short hours and fair wages to the employees.

These things go to show that, aside from the direct influence of Socialism, it has become part of the conception of a city that it should include many of these larger interests. The present social movements are fast urging upon the municipalities thus prepared, the control of monopolies both of capital and land, together with the provision of healthful homes and the means of education and recreation for the working people.

It cannot be long in London until the County Council shall furnish the water-supply for the whole Metropolitan Area. A delay is being caused by the discussion as to whether the plant of the present companies shall be purchased, or whether a new and better source of supply shall be sought, and a new system of pipes laid. As the leading water company has received no investment of capital since the time of the Stuarts, it is thought by many that the company has had sufficient return, even if it should lose by municipal competition. The supply of gas will probably follow that of water as a public enterprise. The licenses

of the tramway companies are soon to expire, and an active effort is being made to have the County Council take control of them. The Council has recently resolved to purchase one of the leading lines. In the case of a proposed extension of a company's line, the Council reserved the privilege of prescribing the manner of laying the tracks, the number of cars to be run, and the fares to be charged; and a further condition was that none of the employees of the line should be required to work more than ten hours a day. The Council is taking up with its accustomed energy the matter of cheap transportation for working men both by tramway and railroad. The companies are feeling the necessity of providing such facilities if they would save themselves from some thoroughgoing action of the County Council.

The farthest step the Council has yet taken in the direction of social administration is the decision to demolish a large area of buildings in Bethnal Green and erect approved working men's dwellings. The magnitude of the experiment may be seen from the fact that this area is about fifteen acres in extent, and included 730 houses, with a permanent population of 5,566. The radical make-up of the County Council may be inferred from this action. The scheme was brought

forward suddenly. It was urged that merely repressive measures should be given a longer trial. It was urged that the owners should be obliged to make the buildings sanitary or else tear them down. It was said to be dangerous to invest £300,000 in such a scheme. It was insisted that it would be impossible to provide for the people who should be compelled to move out. But, in spite of all, the County Council decided that half-way expedients had received a sufficient trial in this dreadful case, and passed the measure by a vote of fifty-eight against thirty-four. There are many other spots in London which will have to receive the same treatment. One hears also of movements in the Northern towns, where partial measures have already been tried, which aim at similar comprehensive work with their slums.

The London School Board has passed two important socialistic measures through the efforts of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Headlam, both of whom are members of the Board. One is a rule by which all work undertaken for any of the schools of London must be paid for at trade-union rates of wages. The other is the decision to supply dinners through the public funds for poor children who come to school hungry.

In English national politics, the social question is

rapidly coming to the front place. Any one who watches the anxiety of both parties in Parliament to propose and support measures favorable to the working men, will see that they both appreciate the importance of the labor vote at the next election. Questions like those of Disestablishment and Home Rule, though they will still be prominent on Liberal and Radical programmes, are decreasing in relative significance. It will not be long after a Liberal government goes into power till every British male adult is allowed a vote, and none more than one.* The payment of members of Parliament cannot be long delayed. Free education is certain to come—indeed the Conservative government itself has put through a compromise bill, in order to save the voluntary system as far as possible. All these are elements of the regular Radical platform.

The next measure to be brought before Parliament by the Trade Union Congress is to be a bill for a compulsory eight-hours' day of labor. A resolution to this effect was passed at the Congress of 1890, but was then deferred in order that a trade-option clause might be introduced. The

* At present a man has a vote in every district where he holds property; and as an election is not held on the same day in different places, a landowner is able to cast many votes in a general parliamentary contest.

progress of events is bringing a remarkable change in the feeling of working men with regard to this proposal. Before 1890, its support was very slight. Working men had full confidence in the unaided power of trade unions to secure the shorter day. But the great meetings at the beginning of May, 1891, showed that the small majority in its favor, indicated by the vote at the Congress of 1890, had received the reinforcement of large bodies of men who have become impatient of the difficulties and reverses which the separate efforts of the trade unions have to meet. After the eight-hours bill an enlargement of the factory acts will be asked for, so as to include all workshops, as well as factories; and then a reform of the poor laws. On the whole it seems not unlikely that Tom Mann's prediction may have meaning in it; he said, in effect, that the Trade Union Congress would go on creating the laws which really concern the great mass of the English people, and getting more and more power to enforce its decisions, until finally it should one day decide to have its sittings for the future in the historic chamber at Westminster. In the meantime, the trade unions are strongly urging their men to be properly represented in local boards and city councils, and it is practically settled that the New Unionism will be represented

in Parliament the next session in the person of John Burns.*

It is certain, thus, that the social question is coming to be the matter of prime importance in English politics. The Conservative party is quite willing to take up, if necessary, a policy of imperial Socialism, like that of the German Emperor. This is shown by the valuable Housing of the Working Classes Act recently amended and consolidated by the Government, under which the Bethnal Green scheme is being put through. The appointment of the Royal Labor Commission is in the same direction, though the *personnel* of the Commission shows that little alleviation of labor troubles may be expected to result from its deliberations. This tendency of the Conservatives will compel the Liberal party, in spite of its unwillingness, to become what Gladstone has all along said it must be, "the party of the masses," meeting them on their own ground, and offering them not patronage, but a reasonable social equality.

In the midst of all these changes which are gradually making over the English Constitution,

* It is probable that there will be a considerable increase in the labor group in Parliament after the next election, and that the group will be much more in sympathy with the proposals of the New Trade Unionism. The socialistic Radicals, apart from the working men, will also be much stronger.

it is remarkable how few voices are raised in anything like active and complete opposition. A few relics of the period now past remain:—the old Whigs, who have seen little need of change since their freedom was gained in 1834; and the adherents of the Liberty and Property Defence League, an extreme *laissez faire* organization composed of landowners and capitalists, who would restrict the state absolutely to the defence of country, person, and property. It was this League which inspired the book called "A Plea for Liberty," with an introduction by Herbert Spencer. The book was brought out as an antidote to the "Fabian Essays." Nearly every member of the committee of the League has a title. Its chairman, the Earl of Wemyss, who is the proprietor of 60,000 British acres, makes an annual speech to empty benches in the House of Lords, giving an account up to date of the dangerous advances of Socialism, among the working men, in Parliament, and in the Church.

III

THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENTS

DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA.—INFLUENCE OF JOHN RUSKIN AND THOMAS HILL GREEN.—EDWARD DENISON.—ARNOLD TOYNBEE.—MR. BARNETT'S MESSAGE AT OXFORD.—TOYNBEE HALL.—ITS POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND EDUCATIONAL WORK.—SOME RESULTS.—THE OXFORD HOUSE.—THE UNIVERSITY CLUB, AND MR. P. R. BUCHANAN.—THE WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT.—COLLEGE MISSIONS.—THE MANSFIELD HOUSE.—UNIVERSITY HALL, AND MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.—SCOTCH SETTLEMENTS.—THE SOCIAL BOND.

THE idea of the sharing of the life of the poor by university men owes its origin to no one person. It has been a gradual development which has taken up elements from the teaching and influence of nearly all the great spiritual leaders at the universities during the last thirty years. As early as 1860, Frederick Maurice was establishing the Working Men's College, and securing the services of young Cambridge graduates as they came up to London, for conducting classes in their spare time. Charles Kingsley was not only Professor of History at Cambridge, but gave himself largely to the cause of the poor in London. In

1867, the University Extension movement had its beginning from Cambridge. More recently, Cambridge has been the headquarters of the Workmen's Political, Social, and Educational League, formed for the purpose of bringing university men and working men together for the study of public questions. Of this League, Professor Seeley, author of "Ecce Homo," is president.

But it was at Oxford first that the feeling of humanity urged men to go and make their homes in the city of social exiles at the East End of London, living there the life they had learned to live under the influences of the University. The nobler impulses of Oxford students were stirred especially by the teachings of John Ruskin and Thomas Hill Green. Ruskin, as Slade Professor of the Fine Arts, was constantly taking up economic and ethical questions in his lectures in his wonderful way. Among all thoughtful people in England, his presentation of the beauty of social service has had a very marked effect. Once, in order to illustrate the dignity of labor, Ruskin led a party of his students to a village a little way out of Oxford, and they all set to repairing a road there which had fallen into bad condition. The influence of Green at the University was of a different kind, but not less strong. He exhibited to those students who were fortunate enough to

know him, the calm elevation of a lofty philosophy bringing out with a fresh emphasis the brotherhood of men. It was something new to Oxford to see the quiet scholar exemplifying his philosophy by interesting himself in the concerns of the townspeople, and serving in some of the municipal offices.

Of course, during all this time, and ever since there has been an East End of London, some of the best men from the universities have undertaken work as clergymen there. These men now and again told of their work, and of the great need of their districts. Their self-denying lives did much to rouse the heroism and devotion of the university students. It was to the late Rev. John Richard Green, Vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney, and historian of the English people, that Edward Denison went in 1867, and sought an opportunity to live and work among his parishioners. Denison was a young Oxford man of wealth and social position, and at first Green could hardly believe that he was in earnest. But he took a lodging near by, and used to visit the people of the neighborhood, and often addressed them publicly on the subject of religion. Unfortunately his health failed him and he came to an early death.* So

* A volume of "Letters and other Writings of the late Edward Denison" was published in London in 1871 by

also, when Arnold Toynbee resolved to spend the summer vacation of 1875 in Whitechapel, he went to the Rev. Samuel A. Barnett, Vicar of St. Jude's, for advice and direction. These last two names are the most closely identified of all with the original "Universities' Settlement."

Toynbee seemed to gather up in himself the new influences which had been rising at Oxford. He was a friend and ardent disciple of Thomas Hill Green. He is said to have filled the place of foreman in Ruskin's amateur gang of laborers. Though prevented by ill health from gaining academic distinction, his fine powers of insight and great personal charm drew around him a group of friends from among the ablest young men then in the University. Upon taking his degree in 1878, he was appointed tutor to the Indian Civil Service students at Oxford, and gave political economy a prominent place in their instruction. He had spent his vacations in Whitechapel for the several successive years, but his weak health demanded that he should have rest and travel during the months of summer. After his marriage in 1879, his special philanthropic activity took the form of addresses to working

Richard Bentley & Son. See also "Edward Denison—In Memoriam," by John Richard Green, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, September, 1871.

men at different places on economic subjects. At his last public appearance, when his disease had begun to make alarming progress, he gave two lectures to popular audiences in London, on Henry George's "Progress and Poverty." After the second lecture, he was carried from the platform in a faint, which was the beginning of his final illness. He died March 9, 1883.*

So keenly did Toynbee's friends at Oxford feel their loss, that they resolved to commemorate his name in some permanent way. At first a fund called the "Toynbee Trust" was raised. Under this a recent graduate is appointed to give a series of lectures on some economic question upon which he shall have made original investigations. But not long afterward a very strong agitation was begun in the London papers as to the awful condition of the people in the East End. For a time the attention of the whole nation was turned with pity, not unmixed with a sense of danger, to this dark mass of social corruption. And amid all the plans proposed for letting in the light, the friends of Toynbee determined, as a me-

* Toynbee's collected writings are contained in the book, "The Industrial Revolution;" published by Rivingtons, London. An account of his life is given in the "Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science," Seventh Series, I.

morial of him, to secure a large room in the East End where something could be done, through University Extension lectures and in other ways, toward bringing the benefits of education to the more hopeful grades of people there.

It was just at this time, in November, 1883, that Mr. Barnett, who had then seen nearly ten years of service in Whitechapel, went to Oxford, and submitted to a little group in a student's room his plan for having, in addition to the proposed lecture hall, a settlement of university men to live and work among the poor. "Vain," he said, "will be higher education, music, art, or even the Gospel, unless they come clothed in the *life* of brother-men."

It was the right moment for such a message at Oxford. There had been an increasing interest in the discussion of social problems. The depth of the misery and need of East London was coming to be felt as a claim upon university men for their personal attention and help. The remembrance of Green, who had died the year before, as well as of Toynbee, was fresh in their minds. Under such circumstances, the words of Mr. Barnett fell on ready ears. It was not long before a committee was appointed to secure volunteers and collect money. A small settlement of five men was soon begun in a disused public house in

Whitechapel. At this stage in the movement, the plan was presented at Cambridge for assistance and co-operation. The main meeting was presided over by Professor Seeley, and addressed by Professor Westcott; with the result that Cambridge gave its warmest support. A location was found next to St. Jude's Church, and a suitable building erected. In January, 1885, the work of Toynbee Hall commenced, with Mr. Barnett as warden.

The thought of having such a settlement had occurred to a few men gathered at Ruskin's house a dozen years before. He had asked Edward Denison, John Richard Green, and some others, to come and talk about the social elevation of the poor. Their conclusion was that a number of educated men should join together to reside in a poor district, as Denison was doing, for the sake of giving personal service and of influencing public opinion toward a better local government. But no further steps were taken.* It remained therefore for Mr. Barnett to take up the idea, present it in its true attractiveness at the fit moment, and act as the main influence in getting it better and better realized from that time to this.

* See an article by the Rev. Brooke Lambert in *The Contemporary Review*, September, 1884.

The record of seven years has been one of unvarying progress. There have been both curiosity and criticism to meet, but now Toynbee Hall is recognized as a regular part of the life of London. There are few of the leading men and women of England who have not been there at some time to give their help. It seems as if Toynbee Hall had come to have an acknowledged claim upon statesmen, clergymen, artists, musicians, and scholars, for their occasional participation in its work. Many visitors from other parts of Great Britain, the Continent, and especially from America, come to learn about what is being done.

The Toynbee building is arranged as far as possible to suggest an English college. Entering a narrow arch from one of the noisiest streets, and passing through to the rear of a large warehouse, you find yourself in a court, or "quad," so dear always to the heart of a university man. The windows, roof, and tower strengthen the impression. Vines grow on the walls, and there are window-boxes full of flowers. During the day only a distant rumble is heard from the streets. In the evening the place is delightfully quiet. The good taste shown in the interior arrangements, especially the generous plan of the drawing-room and dining-room, completes the effect of making everything in harmony with the spirit of the undertaking.

These surroundings serve to keep fresh the reminiscences of the residents, and, on the other hand, to bring the working people into something of the classic university atmosphere.

There are accommodations for twenty-two men. Usually, the building is quite full, though it is always expected that there will be room for guests from the universities who come to stay a night or two. There is a regular force of about fifteen, duly elected as "residents," some of whom have been connected with the Hall since its establishment. A few have independent means and surrender their whole time to East End interests. Two are curates of St. Jude's. One is a teacher at a board school in the neighborhood. The others are occupied in the city during the day, and spend their evenings in some kind of social activity. There are, in addition, always men making short stays of a few weeks, who are drafted into some of the simpler forms of service. Last of all, there is a body of associates, men and women, many of whom come at intervals to take care of classes or clubs. Every small kind of assistance has its value; even mere passing friendliness is at a high premium in connection with such an effort as that of Toynbee Hall. Each of the residents has some special work, which he chooses himself and carries on as he thinks best. One is secretary of the

Stepney branch of the Charity Organization Society. Another resident makes a specialty of labor organizations, and is chairman of one of the branches of the Dockers' Union. Another is secretary of the Children's Country Holiday Fund for the whole of London. This work has grown so much that he gives nearly all of his time to it the year round. Each of these men is recognized as having much influence in his own department. The main action of the Toynbee force, however, can be given a turn to suit the special needs of different times. During the great strike at the docks, a large proportion of the men were steadily occupied in assisting in the work of relief. In the winter, education and charity receive most attention. In the early summer, nearly every one is busy with sending the children for their holidays in the country.

The first and most obvious duty of such a body of men is that of magnifying the office of citizenship. Those who remain long enough become voters, as joint householders, in the Whitechapel district. For a long time Mr. Barnett has been urging a free library for Whitechapel. Some years ago, a vote was taken, and the scheme was badly defeated. Recently, Mr. Barnett promised to secure a sum of money to assist in putting up a library building, and it was decided to have another vote.

The canvassing of two-thirds of the constituency was organized at Toynbee Hall. More than a hundred persons, associates, friends, and members of Toynbee classes, assisted. Four thousand voters were visited before the voting day, and on the voting day nearly the whole district was again canvassed. The result was that about three-quarters of the whole vote was polled, with a majority of almost four to one in favor of the library. Similar political work is done in the case of elections to the London County Council, the London School Board, and the parish governing bodies. When the terrible outbreak of crime occurred in the vicinity in 1888, a vigilance committee was organized. With the assistance of a number of working men, the neighboring part of Whitechapel was patrolled every night for six months. After that, as a marked improvement was noticed, the committee continued its activity only on the noisiest nights—Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays, and Mondays—up to January, 1890. Then, after thirteen weeks had gone by with only a single disturbed night, the patrol was discontinued. Much evidence was collected by this committee, which will be of use in the process of cleansing the district of its abominations. Several residents are managers of board schools in the East End. It will easily be seen how necessary it is that teachers

serving in so difficult a field should receive the assistance and encouragement of educated persons. The Toynbee men have been active in the effort to supply dinners to ill-fed children. They have succeeded in introducing some technical instruction into the schools, and in securing suitable play-grounds for the children, with the provision that the grounds shall be open after school hours and on holidays. About half of the residents serve on local committees of the Charity Organization Society. Two of the three best directed branches in London owe very much to Toynbee influence.

There is a great deal of social life at Toynbee Hall. Nearly every one connected with any of the classes or clubs is present some time during the winter at a tea party or supper party. It means a great deal that the residents do not merely shake hands with the people they are trying to help, or merely ask them into the drawing-room, but make provision for breaking bread with them besides. Many times during the year, the residents have with them as their guests at supper, associations of working men whom they have assisted, or who have been having free use of one of the Toynbee rooms for discussing their business. On these occasions no pleasant custom is omitted—friendly table talk, after-dinner

speaking, and perhaps some jolly songs. In order to make sure that hospitality may not lapse, it is understood that residents shall have the privilege of inviting to evening dinner, at the expense of the entertainment fund, any person living in the East End. Thus there is a genial warmth in the reception Toynbee Hall gives to its neighbors and friends. This feeling penetrates into the different forms of entertainment that are provided, and indeed into all that goes on about the place.

Through the winter, various entertainments are given in the main lecture hall, which unfortunately does not hold many more than three hundred persons. In summer, there are open-air concerts in the quadrangle every week. Admission to the entertainments, as to nearly all general lectures and addresses, is free by ticket. A special feature of the recreative side of Toynbee Hall work is the Lolesworth Club. The membership of the Club is made up of Toynbee men and of people living in the great model tenement-houses near by, after one of which it is named. It is the best example in East London of an unpatronized, home-like club. Its rooms, which are in a large business block, are reserved for the women members at certain times; and all members come to the lectures and entertainments, of which there

are many. It has been found that the Club has been the means of developing sociability, not only at the club-rooms, but among the people as neighbors in the buildings. One of the Toynbee residents, Mr. R. W. Kittle, a man who has the natural art of keeping up relations on an equal with working people, has for four years given nearly all his evenings and many of his days to the Club and its members. In close relation with Toynbee Hall is a large club for boys, the Whittington, which was one of the first clubs to introduce military organization and discipline among its members.

Beside official visits in connection with charitable and labor organizations, the Toynbee men find many other errands to people at their work and in their homes. Nearly every resident has a special care for some family, or some group of people, as, for instance, the German Jews. Many times, weak labor unions have been assisted. In several recent cases, bodies of workmen who had rebelled against the despotism of sweating masters have been organized into productive co-operative associations; and, considering the obstacles they have to meet, they are having good success.

The educational work is quite as important at Toynbee Hall as the general social work. The University Extension lectures for the Whitechapel centre are given at the Hall, in accordance with

the plan of the friends of Arnold Toynbee. But there is in addition a variety of courses in different grades given by residents, associates, and others. The quadrangle at eight o'clock in the evening presents a sight which is, in the light of the circumstances, not less interesting than a similar university scene would be. The students are both male and female, young and old, and instead of being all well-to-do, are nearly all poor—though, of course, one would find very few representatives of the two or three lowest grades of society among the students. The schedule of studies includes most of the subjects taken up in college. But the studies are made as simple and practical as possible. Admission to about half the courses is free; for the rest there is a small charge.

Among the most interesting classes are those in political economy. The lecturer in charge is younger than most of his pupils. A recent course was on the lives and teachings of the leading English economists, in which the lecturer combined economic instruction with biography and personal characterizations. The class was made up of from twenty-five to forty men, mostly artisans. They would listen intently for an hour and a half, often interposing questions. This department has grown so much that the students are in three divisions, a primary course, a more

advanced course, and an economic club. The economic club is composed of thirty or more members, about half working men and half university men, and promises to be of great interest. It will give most of its attention to bringing together the results of observation and investigation by the members concerning such subjects of actual experience and immediate interest as: the conditions of riverside labor; co-operation in London; the way working men live as to food and household arrangements; the effects of changing seasons in throwing men out of employment. Under the work of this club it is hoped that Toynbee Hall will become an important centre for the supply of full and accurate data with regard to the state of East End life.

In addition to all the regular Toynbee courses, two series of lectures by public and literary men are carried on through each winter. It seems almost an anomaly that probably the people of no district in London now see and hear so many of their distinguished countrymen in the course of a year as the people of Whitechapel. There is also a series of very interesting "smoking conferences," in which a social topic is opened by a labor leader, or by a person intimately connected with some social movement; and afterward is discussed from the point of view of nearly every type of

man in the strange congeries of East London humanity.

There are many other ways in which Toynbee Hall acts as an educational centre. Numerous societies, like the Economic Club, are organized for lines of special study. There is a free students' library of four thousand volumes, which will soon be supplemented by the more general Whitechapel Library, to be located near by. Excursions to places of historic and picturesque interest are arranged, with talks beforehand by persons familiar with the objective points. The Toynbee Travellers' Club organizes two or three parties for Continental trips every year. The expenses are made as low as possible, so as to suit the means of clerks, artisans, and teachers in the schools. Another important feature of the Toynbee work is the effort that is being made, through clubs and evening classes at the schools in the vicinity, to supplement the daily instruction of the schools, by manual and athletic training. In this way, many boys who have finished their time of compulsory attendance at school, and are at work during the day, have a partial secondary education. These different clubs are affiliated and have competitions in athletics and out-door sports. Two buildings adjoining Toynbee Hall are now used as students' residences. Here in pleasant rooms dwell

forty young men—clerks, artisans, school-masters—who attend the Toynbee classes, and live something like a university life. The students are under the general charge of one of the Toynbee residents as tutor. These Houses, named after Oxford colleges, Wadham and Balliol, are an important development of the plan of the settlement. It is hoped that ultimately the Hall may be surrounded with buildings occupied by such students. With St. Jude's Church and the model tenement-houses included, there is a community thus formed which is a fruitful and increasing source for the spread of intelligence, improved social life, and good citizenship, through Whitechapel and into the whole of East London.

The connection between Toynbee Hall and the universities is kept up by frequent visits of men from Oxford and Cambridge. At nearly every college in both universities a committee exists which takes up the college subscription, and also acts as a medium of information for men thinking of spending some time at the settlement. Meetings are often held at the different colleges, at which some Toynbee man is usually present to report. The funds for the support of Toynbee Hall, beyond what is contributed from the universities, come from the fees of the members of the "Universities' Settlement Association," and

from a few generous friends. There probably never was so large a work carried on at so small an expense. To begin with, all residents and visitors pay their own charges. This leaves only the general running expenses to be paid, and these amount to about $6,000 per annum.

The progress of Toynbee Hall in its unique experiment must be in large degree traced to the influence of Mr. and Mrs. Barnett. The originality, good taste, and liberality with which the enterprise has been conducted, is owing almost entirely to them. Their experience of eighteen years at St. Jude's makes them acquainted with every phase of work among the poor. In his relation with the residents as warden, Mr. Barnett is admirable. Few persons could go in and out among young men of all types, fresh from the critical atmosphere of the universities, and earn the confidence and esteem of them all, as he does. Acting by the way of suggestion rather than of direction, he succeeds both in sending the residents and visitors individually out into work which interests them and draws forth their best efforts, and also in retaining for the settlement as a whole much of the quality of a united force. As time goes on, many men occupying places of political, economic, and religious influence will look back to the inspiration and training they

gained at Toynbee Hall under the friendly guidance of Mr. Barnett. A number of Toynbee men, past and present, are rising young economists. Among them are:—Mr. Bolton King, the senior resident, a friend of Arnold Toynbee, and one of the editors of Toynbee's "Industrial Revolution"; Mr. Ernest Aves, honorary secretary of Toynbee Hall, and Mr. H. Llewellyn Smith,* both of whom contributed to Mr. Charles Booth's work on "Labor and Life of the People," some of the results of their investigations in the East End; Mr. Vaughn Nash, one of the younger, progressive leaders in the co-operative movement, who also has a more intimate acquaintance than any other outsider with the men at the head of the new trade unions; and Mr. Henry Higgs, the lecturer on political economy at Toynbee Hall, a man who is certain to take a high position in historical and theoretical economics. There are a number of former residents engaged in charitable, educational, and religious lines of activity in different parts of the country, whose services are perhaps less known, but hardly less valuable.

They do not estimate results at Toynbee Hall

* Mr. Smith and a few of his friends have a small settlement in Stepney. Their main activity, besides that of carrying on a boys' club, consists in supporting social politics in the district, upon both local and national issues.

by numbers. They simply carry out their comprehensive plan, trusting to its inherent necessity and value. They know from the work itself as it goes on that good results are not merely coming, but are already come. If they have not been able to bring many from out of the dregs, they have at least given a hand to many who were struggling up. There are numbers of people at Toynbee Hall every night who are striving daily against the awful odds of poverty to attain to the things that are pure and lovely and of good report. To such people the place is a constant source of light and strength. In its public capacity, Toynbee Hall is becoming more and more a social centre, where charitable, philanthropic, and labor organizations hold their important gatherings. The trade unions of the East End are uniformly friendly and appreciative, and the relations between residents and labor leaders are always very pleasant.

During the formation of the Dockers' Union in 1889, important and successful meetings were held at Oxford and Cambridge, under the auspices of Toynbee Hall, at which Ben Tillett and some of the Toynbee men explained the situation and asked the sympathy of the universities. The fact that sympathy would not be lacking was shown by the large audiences at both places, which included

many of the leading professors. At Oxford, two well-known dons are said to have entered into lively competition for the honor of presiding. In the fall of 1890, a conference was called by Toynbee Hall men to meet at Oxford, at which labor, capital, and learning discussed their differences in an amicable manner. It is hoped that this conference will be a regular annual event. In such ways, Toynbee Hall is magnifying its mission both to the student and to the worker.

The settlement as a whole takes no attitude on religion or national politics. Most of the men, including Mr. Barnett, are political Radicals. The position of nearly all on economic and social questions is somewhat more conservative than one might expect. As to religious preferences, there have been among the residents, Churchmen, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, Jews, and unsectarians. The absence of official connection with religious effort has thus made it possible to bring together into a working unity a wide variety of men. In this way an opportunity of social service has been opened to men who never would have associated themselves with any religious movement. Also, it would not be possible, as things are now, for an organization with a religious propaganda, especially for one connected with the Church of England, to keep up relations with

labor organizations and their leaders, as Toynbee Hall is able to do. The whole of Toynbee Hall life and work, however, has the essential spirit of Christianity in it. Each man shows respect for the convictions of every other. A number of the men engage actively in religious work.

As to this matter, the true position seems to be that there is abundant room for both kinds of settlement, the religious and the non-religious, each kind following its distinctive lines. The best example of the settlement whose first object is a religious one, is the Oxford House, in Bethnal Green. The Oxford House began its work in the same year as Toynbee Hall. When it was found that Mr. Barnett was not going to give his proposed settlement a distinctively religious character, a movement to establish one under Church auspices was begun at Keble College, an institution founded by the High Churchmen at the time the Dissenters were given the freedom of the old colleges. The centre of the work of the Oxford House all this time has been in a remodelled parish school-house; but a new building, well adapted to the needs of the settlement, will soon be ready to be occupied. There will be accommodations for twenty residents, with a chapel and a library. Connected with the building there

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will be a lecture-room and club-rooms. The whole cost of land and buildings is to be about $60,000.

Part of the religious work of the Oxford House is done independently, and part in connection with the parish work of neighboring churches. On Sundays, two large meetings are held, one in the afternoon and one in the evening. The meeting in the afternoon is for men only, and is taken up with a lecture on a religious, social, or literary subject, followed by questions and discussion. The general aim of this afternoon meeting has been to reconcile the Church and the working men. The lectures have often been given by able Oxford scholars and preachers, and some of them have been published in two small volumes called "Oxford House Papers."* These essays constitute a sort of working man's "Lux Mundi," as the Oxford House itself represents the East London phase of the new movement among the young High Churchmen. The meeting in the evening takes the character of a mission, the service usually being conducted by the Rev. A. F. W. Ingram, Head of the Oxford House. It is very interesting and successful. The preaching is simple, clear, and earnest; and every one receives a hearty handshake from the preacher on going out. The aver-

* London: Rivingtons.

age attendance in the afternoon is a hundred. In the evening, the families come, and the attendance is usually much larger.

The Oxford House men give valuable assistance in the ordinary parish work of their district. They visit regularly two wards of the London Hospital, near by. In the summer, they meet the agnostic lecturers on their own ground by preaching in the open air. They assist clergymen in carrying on missions. Mr. Ingram is coming to be closely connected with all the large religious efforts that go on under the auspices of the Church in the East End. There is a great deal of freshness, and freedom from constraint, about all of the religious work that centres at the Oxford House, and the neighboring clergymen find many new and hopeful influences that come from the activity of the residents.

The social work of the Oxford House has been in several respects remarkably successful. The settlement has three large clubs under its control, beside rendering active assistance to others. The University Club, the largest and most interesting of the London working men's clubs that receive outside assistance, was formed in 1885, with less than a dozen members. Its membership now numbers about fifteen hundred. It occupies a large and commodious building of its own, with

rooms suited to all its various features,* including a billiard-room, a reading-room, class-rooms, and the large Oxford Hall, used for athletics, dramatics, music, and dancing, during the week, as well as for the meeting and mission service on Sunday.

The Club is intended to be a genuine working men's club; that is, no employers are allowed to join. Residents of the Oxford House and a few particular friends are included, however. Women members have the special privileges of the rooms on four afternoons in the week, and of course are present at all the entertainments. No intoxicating drinks are allowed in the club building.

Within the general organization are the athletic, rowing, cricket, and foot-ball clubs, the dramatic and debating societies, the string and brass bands, each one managing its own work. The classes in English, French, drawing, short-hand, and book-keeping are conducted by Oxford House men and their friends. Beside all, there are one or two entertainments in Oxford Hall every week.

The University Club has given its members

* Among the different games, the games with cards take their place with the rest, as they do at most of the church clubs even. This would be hardly worth mentioning except for the fact that it is found very difficult to conduct a working men's club where cards are prohibited.

valuable co-operative training. There is a very well conducted and successful general store, with about six hundred members, which carries on its business on the first floor of the Club's building. There are two productive co-operative societies under the auspices of the Club, with warerooms in its building—the Boot and Shoe Makers' and the Cabinet Makers'. There is a flourishing provident dispensary, and a loan association. The products of a large working women's co-operative association are sold in the distributive store. Lastly, a book-stall has been opened, which will be made co-operative if it prove successful.

This Club is almost wholly the result of the efforts of Mr. P. R. Buchanan, the Vice-head of the Oxford House, and one of the most energetic and influential of all the settlers in the East End. Mr. Buchanan is a wealthy tea importer, who has taken up his residence with his family in Bethnal Green, next the University Club. Here, with the help of his family and friends, and with a liberal and intelligent use of his money, he has developed this remarkable centre of social life. His aim has been to make the Club self-supporting as far as possible—to make it "a People's Palace built by the people's pence." In this way, the members have felt a deeper personal interest in the Club than they would have felt as mere beneficiaries.

Mr. Buchanan constantly advises and assists in its many different enterprises. He is especially anxious to have a natural religious atmosphere about it. The Sunday exercises at Oxford Hall are put down on its programme. Mr. Buchanan conducts a weekly Bible-class composed of its members on a week-day evening through the winter. He has a little private chapel, which is connected with his own house and with the Club, and all members are invited to come in to morning and evening prayers. Within the last year, Mr. Buchanan has been establishing in different parts of East London a number of coffee-houses, on a novel and ingenious plan, which will be described in a later chapter.

Beside the University Club, the Oxford House men carry on a smaller but very successful men's club, called the Oxford House Club; a Young Men's Institute, for those who will in due time be candidates for the University Club; and the Webbe Institute, a boys' club with about five hundred members, which has a large disused factory building, admirably adapted to its uses. Several other clubs receive their assistance. The Oxford House is the centre of a Federation of Working Men's Clubs, all of which refrain from selling intoxicants, and most of which are connected with churches and missions. There are thirty-five clubs in this Federation, representing four thousand

members. Through the Federation, competitions in music and athletics are arranged, lectures provided, excursions taken, and joint committees are formed for discussing and acting upon whatever sanitary, municipal, and industrial questions are most important at the time.

A very practical piece of charitable work has been that of the House of Shelter, directed from the Oxford House, where people are received for a night, and work found for them as far as possible. As at Toynbee Hall, secretaries and committeemen are furnished for the Charity Organization Society and the Children's Country Holiday Fund; and managers are supplied for board schools. Much better work has been done than at Toynbee Hall for the sanitary improvement of the neighborhood—by a large amount of investigation, by urging forward the local sanitary authorities, and by having lectures and discussions on sanitary topics. In these and other ways the Oxford House has kept prominent the idea of social citizenship. In the matter of the higher education it has had very little success. The University Extension lectures have been dropped for the present; but it is hoped that when the settlement gets into suitable quarters it may be able to take them up again.

The number of men staying at the Oxford House varies from seven or eight to fourteen or

fifteen. There is, besides, a small but very active body of associates. More undergraduates from both universities seem to go to the Oxford House than to Toynbee Hall. A considerable proportion of Oxford House men are studying for orders. It is mainly for this reason that there is difficulty in getting them to stay for long periods. Of course the residents are much more of a type than at Toynbee Hall; but it may be doubted whether better examples of the educated young Churchman and gentleman could be found in the universities themselves than those one finds at work in that gloomy, wretched, and unhealthy district.

The other settlement in London which represents the universities, rather than any particular institution, is the Women's University Settlement. This Settlement is supported by Girton and Newnham Colleges, at Cambridge, and Lady Margaret College and Somerville Hall, at Oxford. The movement began at Cambridge in 1887, and it is interesting to note that the feature of the first formal meeting there, was a paper by Mrs. Barnett. The Settlement is located in Southwark, on the south side of the river, where life is perhaps on the whole not so degraded as in the East End, but for some reason is far more monotonous. In the house now used, there is room for but five residents. It is hoped that the Settlement may soon be able

to take a house twice the size. The running expenses are a little higher proportionally than at the other settlements, as the women residents are not charged for their rooms or attendance, while the men, nearly without exception, pay all of their own charges.

The Women's Settlement, with the aid of its associates, accomplishes some very valuable results. A good deal of attention is given to the recreation of the children of the neighborhood. Special efforts are made for the education and amusement of girls just leaving the board schools. For these a club is carried on at the Settlement, with provision for entertainments in winter and excursions in summer, beside a number of classes. There are classes for boys in drawing and wood-carving. An especial feature is the help the residents are able to give the mothers of the neighborhood, both by visiting them in their homes, and by holding meetings for them at the Settlement during the winter. A library and reading-room is open to those connected with the classes and clubs.

The larger share of the activity of the residents and associates is in the way of assisting in the organized social work of the district. It is found that the need is not so much for additional organization as for more workers.

Beside assistance rendered to churches in the neighborhood, much time has been given to committees of the Charity Organization Society, the Children's Country Holiday Fund, and other metropolitan associations, as well as to some local institutions. The plan is, as the Settlement grows, to have each more permanent resident become thoroughly skilled in a certain line, and then, in turn, take the less experienced ones under her direction. This is the method so successfully carried out at Toynbee Hall. Already one of the residents works entirely under the direction of Miss Octavia Hill, and manages a block of houses near the Settlement; while another is going through a regular course of training under one of the Charity Organization secretaries. Altogether, the Women's Settlement has shown that there is a distinct and important use for such an organization. Its success has encouraged the starting of a similar settlement made up mainly of graduates of the Cheltenham Ladies' College. It is called the Mayfield House, and is situated in Bethnal Green, where it will work in co-operation with the Oxford House.

The South of London has been, in the main, the scene of the activity of the college missions. The strength of Cambridge has gone more to these than to the university settlements; as at

Cambridge loyalty is stronger toward the individual colleges, while at Oxford it is stronger toward the University. In the area to the south of the Thames, Cambridge has since 1885 established no less than six college missions. There are besides in different parts of London two or three missions supported by Oxford colleges, and nine or ten supported by the different public schools. When a college establishes a mission, a clergyman, a graduate of the college, is put in charge; the expenses are borne by the college; frequent reports are sent from the mission to the college, and from time to time students go from the college for short visits to the mission. In general, college missions do not yet have provision for corps of lay residents. As the missions grow, however, the plan of having lay settlements is gradually being introduced.

The largest and most successful of these missions is that of Trinity College, Cambridge. Soon after the establishment of the mission in 1885, the parish of St. George's, one of the most extensive in the South of London, was turned over to its charge. The clerical staff is six in number, and under their direction the activities of the church have become quite wonderful for comprehensiveness and value. A lay settlement, with five residents and eight regular visitors, has lately been

established, occupying several houses in a block in one part of the parish. A lecture-room for its use is approaching completion.

The work of the lay residents does not differ materially from that undertaken at the other settlements. As the settlement develops, its supporters hope to make it a Cambridge House, having a general university relation, as the Oxford House has. Already the residents have special charge of four clubs, two for men and two for boys. They will pay a good deal of attention to intellectual, manual, and athletic training, and will co-operate with all the movements for social improvement in their district.

Several other missions have gradually developed into churches after the manner of the Trinity Mission, but all are on a much smaller scale. Among these are the St. John's, Clare, and Corpus Christi Missions from Cambridge, and the Christ Church Mission from Oxford. The Caius College Mission from Cambridge is unlike the rest in following Toynbee Hall lines. The Caius Mission, at last reports, was not in operation, but a determined attempt is being made to have it enter fully upon its work again.

A very interesting and promising settlement is the one recently begun with a good deal of enthusiasm by a movement from Mansfield College,

the Congregational theological school at Oxford. The Mansfield House is located in Canning Town, some four miles east of Toynbee Hall. Though the district is not nearly so degraded as Whitechapel or Bethnal Green, yet it is much poorer in opportunities than they. There is said to be not even a public hall where meetings can be held, in the locality. In its plan the Mansfield House is the most comprehensive of all the settlements. It includes active religious effort, as Toynbee Hall does not, and a thorough educational course, as the Oxford House does not. It has the great advantage of the experience of an earnest and able young minister, the Rev. F. W. Newland, who has been the most hopeful force in the district for some years. Already there is a Sunday afternoon Bible-class, conducted on a unique plan, with one hundred and fifty members. Lectures are given on religious subjects, bringing out especially their bearing upon social questions. Entertainments are held every week. There are two hundred students in the educational classes. The plan also includes a working men's club, with various features of thrift and of training in citizenship; and a youth's institute, with arrangements for various kinds of instruction in handicraft. In general, there will be no line of distinction between the scope of the

settlement and that of the Canning Town Congregational Church. The residents are few in number as yet, but no difficulty is anticipated in securing men. Indeed, it is hoped to have branch settlements in other parts of East and South London. As Congregational students are not often financially independent, it is expected that scholarships will have to be established, apart from the funds raised for running expenses, under which men shall reside at the settlement.* The Mansfield House will have an excellent opportunity to show, as has not yet been shown, the special value of the university settlement whose efforts centre about an active, intelligent, and unconventional Christianity.

A settlement resembling the Mansfield House is carried on by the Wesleyans in Bermondsey, a district along the docks in the South of London. They hope soon to erect a building suitable for a number of residents, and having facilities for classes and entertainments. In addition to the religious and social work, the University Extension idea is to be kept prominent. The latest settlement announced is that of some young Jews, mainly university men, who are proposing to es-

* Up to the present, men without private means have been precluded from giving the major part of their time to university settlement work.

tablish themselves among their brethren of Rag Fair and Petticoat Lane, Whitechapel.

One would also speak of University Hall, the settlement which has been brought about mainly by Mrs. Humphry Ward. University Hall is in Bloomsbury, in the west-central division of London. It is not situated near any poor quarter, though the Chancery Lane slums are not more than half a mile away. Mrs. Ward's object is first of all to popularize the radical criticism of the Bible. Her method is to have lectures at University Hall by leading English and Continental scholars of the rationalistic school. The results of these lectures are then to be given by the residents in different parts of London, in meetings and Sunday-schools. That the more general social and educational part of the programme will not be neglected is assured from the fact that the warden, the Rev. Philip H. Wicksteed, holds advanced and earnest views on economic questions, and is one of the most popular University Extension lecturers in London. There are ten or twelve residents, but only a small proportion of them are university graduates. This is explained by the fact that the movement has, in spite of itself, become identified with the Unitarian body, and has thus lost the glamour that surrounds movements under Church auspices or on

purely humanitarian lines. This settlement may, however, be the means of a new development, in the way of suggesting settlements made up of young business and professional men, without regard to their having been bred at universities. Such a settlement has recently been proposed at Liverpool. It is not unlikely that something of the kind may be the next effort to bridge the chasm between classes and masses.

Outside of London, in England, there is as yet no work similar to that of the settlements, except a small Rugby Mission in Birmingham. But in the Scotch cities there are flourishing settlements. In Glasgow, there is a settlement of fourteen students from the University, under the presidency of Professor Drummond. There is also a very interesting Toynbee House, carried on under the influence of Professor Edward Caird—who is to Glasgow as Green was to Oxford. Though there are as yet no residents, every evening finds social and educational activity at the House. From week to week, groups of members, called "families," hold receptions for poor people of the neighborhood, whom they have already personally invited to come. In Edinburgh, there is the successful University Settlement; the Free Church College Settlement; and the two University Halls, which, without attempting much social work, bring stu-

dents into close acquaintance with the life of the poor.*

This whole movement of the university settlements would seem to have sufficiently demonstrated one thing: it is, that if anything of value is to be done to assist the working people, a good share of the help must come from persons actually living as neighbors to them. There is no way to bring well-to-do and poor together except by having them come together.

The university settlements are a stern rebuke to the wealthy families and churches moving farther and farther into aristocratic quarters, and leaving slums in their wake as they go. The settlements suggest that this tendency is hurtful to the rich as well as to the poor. The destitution and famine of one extreme of life is not more false to the normal pattern than the congestion and glut of the other. The Lord Chief Justice of England comes to a working men's club in a little upper room in Whitechapel, and tells its members that the West End of London has quite as much need of the East End as the East End has of the West End. There is thus coming to be a deep sense of the social bond which holds the favored and the outcast together, so that neither can with his better life

* An account of the Scotch settlements was given in *The Congregationalist*, May 28, 1891.

escape. As this feeling grows, it is bringing some of the true aristocracy back to establish their homes amongst the working class. An increasing number of men and women are concluding that their own duty, at least, must no longer be delegated. In Manchester, one of the families of the Crossleys, the famous engine-builders, who formerly contented themselves with large gifts to charitable agencies, have now left their suburban mansion, and gone to live and work in one of the poorest and gloomiest districts. And they are said to be the happiest people in the city.

IV

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION *

INCREASING NEED FOR THE HIGHER EDUCATION.—EXCLUSIVENESS OF THE UNIVERSITIES.—BEGINNING AND PROGRESS OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.—HOW A CENTRE IS ORGANIZED.—LECTURERS.—THE SYSTEM IN GENERAL.—METHOD OF INSTRUCTION.—STUDENTS' ASSOCIATIONS.—INFLUENCE OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION IN FORMING LOCAL COLLEGES.—RELATION OF THE CENTRES TO THE UNIVERSITIES.—SUMMER MEETINGS.—UNIVERSITY EXTENSION AND THE WORKING PEOPLE.—NEED OF RESOURCES.—QUESTION OF STATE AID.

UNDER the system of compulsory education, the English are fast becoming a nation of readers. But those who receive only an elementary education are likely to give all the time they have for reading to sensational newspapers and useless books. The demand that the people should be supplied with good books is being met by a re-

* The best account of this subject is given in a little book entitled "University Extension: Has It a Future," by H. J. Mackinder, M.A., and M. E. Sadler, M.A., of Oxford University. London: Henry Frowde. A good part of the data for the chapter have been obtained from this book.

markable increase in the number of public libraries. Yet there is a strong feeling that public libraries by themselves do not meet the case. The least improving books are most often chosen. People need to be taught to select good books. An interest in the right kind of reading must be aroused and fostered. For this purpose, the general resources of literature and science must be opened and explained.

Thus, compulsory elementary education soon makes it necessary to provide for more advanced education. Schools for secondary education and for technical and agricultural training are rapidly increasing. The government now makes large grants to aid technical schools. But, for the more general education of the people, the hope of the future seems to lie in the University Extension movement.

The old universities are practically limited to the rich. There has long been a feeling among the best men at Oxford and Cambridge that the privileges of the universities ought to be much more widely shared. But there has been very little effort toward bringing students from the working class into the life of the universities. Almost the only improvement in this respect has been that of granting to students the freedom of living outside the colleges, and thus avoiding a

number of special charges. There is a strong opinion among the cultured class that to reduce the expense of education at the preparatory schools and universities would involve too great a lowering of their dignity and social standing. So the change has come almost entirely in the way of carrying university teaching to the working people.

As early as 1860, a system of local examinations was begun by both universities, designed to direct and improve the education given in schools in the cities. This plan gradually developed, and in the end furnished a framework for the extension of university teaching. Professor James Stuart, then of Cambridge, now a prominent Radical member of Parliament and editor of the London *Star*, began courses of lectures in manufacturing towns in 1867. In 1872 he addressed a letter to the members of the University, proposing a plan of University Extension by local lectures. A syndicate was appointed by the University to consider the matter, and in the next year it was decided to give the plan a trial. Many difficulties were met at first, but the movement was so successful that in 1876 the Society for the Extension of University Teaching was formed in London, and two years later the University of Oxford formally undertook extension work. Recently, extension courses have been begun by the new Victoria

University, which includes colleges in Manchester, Leeds, and Liverpool.

The three universities and the London Society all carry on their work independently. The general body of each university appoints a committee to direct its extension system. As a rule, the Cambridge centres are in the eastern half of England, the Oxford centres in the western half. The Victoria University gives courses in towns at the north, and the London Society has charge of all the centres in and near London. There is a certain loss of force through competition and divided efforts. However, one university would never think of entering a neighborhood where a centre had already been established by another university. It is claimed that a little of the good-natured rivalry which seems always associated with university life, will do no harm. There are tendencies which diminish the element of competition. It is becoming common for the centres to select their lecturers from either the Cambridge or the Oxford list, as they please. The London Society, which is made up of Cambridge, Oxford, and London graduates, has a list of its own, but its branches may ask through its central office for the services of any of the lecturers on the Cambridge and Oxford lists. One good result of independent action has been that each plan has

differed in details from the others, so that the system as a whole has been more fully developed than it would have been under the undisturbed action of a general organization.

There are now about two hundred and fifty extension centres in England. It is estimated that there were as many as 45,000 attendants at the courses in the year 1890–91. The growth of the movement may be fairly indicated by the fact that in 1885–86 the total attendance was only 16,752. Extension work is being taken up in Scotland, where it is to be in charge of a joint board representing the different universities. A system is now being organized in America and in some localities courses have already been carried on with much success.

The local centres usually have their origin through some university man, or other intelligent person, who is acquainted with the extension movement and wishes to try to gain its benefits for his own town. Through his influence, a committee is formed, and a secretary for the branch appointed. Then a good deal of active missionary work has to be done to get people sufficiently interested to come to the lectures and pay the fees. In most cases, a public meeting is held, at which some representative of University Extension is present to give information. As soon as

it becomes possible to guarantee the payment of a lecturer's charges, the centre is ready to begin its work. Sometimes the lectures are given at a local college and are made part of its programme. Public libraries and mechanics' institutes occasionally take the responsibility of engaging the lecturers. There are some interesting instances at the North of England where centres are organized by co-operative societies and are attended by their members. It is generally an advantage when the centre can be associated with the educational influences of some existing institution. The promoters of the movement especially desire that an extension centre should exist side by side with a public library in every town in the country.

The members of a centre have a rather wide range of choice as to both subjects and lecturers. Some men of standing have, out of interest in the movement, given courses of extension lectures. But for the most part, the work is undertaken by young graduates, who have only the recognition they have gained in their university studies. Up to the present, it has been looked upon, even by the young men, as only a temporary avocation. It seems likely, however, as the system is developing so rapidly, that the work of extension lecturer will soon become a regular occupation. There are a few men now who have given most of their

time for a number of years to extension lecturing. But the duties are arduous and the compensation not large, so that a good lecturer soon has more promising opportunities offered him. One who gives his whole time to extension teaching will lecture five evenings and sometimes three or four afternoons per week during the term. Each lecture includes some class work, and the examination of students' papers. Other disadvantages are long journeys by rail and absence from home. The largest income yet made by an extension lecturer —and that by a man of great ability and endurance—was somewhat more than $2,500. For a single course of twelve lectures, a lecturer receives about $175.

What the leaders in the movement are now trying for is so to reduce the work and travelling of regular lecturers, and so to increase their incomes, that it may be worth the while of the best men to enter upon and continue in the extension service. They are determined to have for their leading lecturers a number of men of proved ability and standing. They see how the loss of some three or four of the present lecturers, who do answer to this description, would seriously embarrass them, and they are anxious that the movement should not remain in so precarious a condition.

At the same time, notwithstanding their desire

for men of experience, they believe it to be one of the advantages of the system that it finds promising young graduates and introduces them into educational work. Any young university man may apply for an appointment as lecturer. His college record is examined. He must have had experience in speaking in public. He must be thoroughly acquainted with the extension system. Finally, he must deliver to a private audience the course of lectures he proposes to give. If all tests are satisfactorily passed, a small sum of money is voted to send him to some typical centres, in order that he may see senior lecturers at their work.

It is an important fact, and the promoters of University Extension do not forget it, that the extension lecturer needs to be of a different type from the resident lecturer at a university. He cannot expect to find his hearers already interested in his subject, but must begin by arousing them to its significance. His way of presenting it must be very clear and simple. He must have some of the traits of a public speaker, so as to hold the attention of a general audience. He needs to have a turn for organization, in order to bring up to their highest efficiency the centres to which he goes. Not the least important thing is that he should enter his work with a desire for

the improvement of social conditions, and a belief that University Extension may be made a valuable factor in bringing about the good change.

The general machinery of University Extension is very well devised. Considering the methods already generally used and those just being introduced, the system seems admirably complete. The two old universities and the London Society each have a head office in charge of men who give most of their time to directing extension work. Early in the spring of every year, the list of subjects in history, economics, literature, and science, with the names of the lecturers, is made out and sent to the local centres. The secretary of each centre must report his committee's first, second, and third choices for lecturers and subjects. From all the applications, the assignments are made out according to the selection of places by lecturers, and the possibility of convenient railway arrangements. By the middle of the summer, the programme is complete.

Up to the present, the lectures have been given in two terms of twelve weeks each, separated by the Christmas holidays. Recently, in answer to a demand which arose from the centres themselves, additional courses have been given in the spring. As a rule, each centre has only one course of lectures presented during a term. The course given

in the second term generally continues the subject treated in the first term. The Cambridge and London courses consist of twelve lectures delivered weekly. The Oxford courses consist of from six to twelve lectures, which are given only once a fortnight. In order that the lectures may be as thorough as possible, a course nearly always includes only a part of a subject. A course will be not on English history, but on one or two periods of English history; not on physics, but on light, or heat, or electricity. This may seem to give students a rather narrow scope for their whole winter's study; but of course the time of the students is quite limited, and they are able to get variety by securing a difference of subject from winter to winter. Some of the stronger centres have several courses going on at the same time, so that persons can pursue as many different studies as their circumstances allow. At any rate, the plan of limiting the range of courses tends to free the system from the danger of superficiality which constantly threatens it.

Great pains are taken in conducting the classes to give the students good facilities and to make their study effective. To begin with, the subject of the lectures to be given in the fall is known to all the students usually as early as July. Some time before the term opens, full printed outlines

of the course are in the students' hands, which direct their reading and help them in following the lectures. The outlines contain lists of books recommended to be read in connection with the lectures. In order to supply the students with the necessary books, Oxford has what are called "travelling libraries." The head extension office secures about forty of the best books on each subject taken up. Each centre then can have a set of books bearing on the course it is pursuing. The libraries are sent to the different centres, and the books either loaned in rotation, or deposited in some convenient place as a reference library. There is coming to be in this way a large central library at Oxford, made up, not of a great diversity of books, but of a considerable number of copies of each of the standard books in the different branches. It is hoped that the library will grow so as to meet all demands the students may put upon it.

The lectures are an hour in length. As far as possible, specimens and diagrams are brought into use. The magic lantern is found to be a very valuable aid. Many times, advantage can be taken of local facilities for illustrating historical and scientific subjects. At each lecture, a number of questions are given out for further study. The students are expected to write out

their replies to these and send them by mail to the lecturer. They are encouraged to study independently and to express their own opinions in their papers. In connection with every lecture, a class is held lasting three-quarters of an hour, or longer. Of course many come to the lectures who do no outside work. At the classes, only the more earnest students are expected to attend. With this smaller circle the lecturer explains points not understood and discusses the subject further. Pupils and teacher have an opportunity to get acquainted. The papers which have been sent in are returned with oral comment or a written criticism.

Students who attend two-thirds or three-fourths of these classes, and write the same proportion of papers in answer to the lists of questions given out, are eligible to the examination, which is held at the end of each course by some university man other than the lecturer. As a result of the examination, all who pass receive a certificate, the best students have honors assigned to them, and the one standing first is awarded a prize. The certificates and special honors are presented at a public meeting, at which some important person in the neighborhood is invited to speak. The appointed period of study includes six terms, running through three years. In many cases, stu-

dents continue to follow the courses after this period has expired.

No centre is complete without its students' association. Those associations are formed for the purpose of taking charge of the work of the centre, and for encouraging study preliminary and supplementary to the lectures and classes. They hold meetings while the lectures are in course of being delivered, in which they review and discuss the preceding lecture, and try to prepare for a thorough understanding of the lecture to come. This use of the associations is larger under the Oxford system, in which the lectures are fortnightly, than in the others in which the lectures are given once a week. The associations devise plans for systematic study after the lectures are over. In the summer, they organize excursions to places that appeal to intelligent interest. There are plans for courses of home reading issued from the head offices, and so far as these are taken up, the associations have been the mediums through which they have been introduced.*

There are now several general associations, which aim to include all the centres, whether con-

* An organization called the "National Home Reading Union" is endeavoring to introduce the Chautauqua system in England, but its efforts do not as yet meet with any great success.

nected with Oxford or Cambridge, in a certain district. The latest association formed announces as its objects—the organization and extension of university teaching in its district; the suggestion of subjects and lectures, and the grouping of centres for the convenient arrangement of lectures; the organization of lectures and systematic work, in vacation; the formation of a students' library, and the lending of books; the promotion of higher education generally. These district associations are in several respects an advance in the system. They tend to obliterate the distinction between Oxford and Cambridge centres. They relieve the head offices of much difficulty, arranging through conference among their members for convenient circuits for the lecturers. Dr. R. D. Roberts, secretary of the London Society, has proposed that through these associations a kind of floating local college might be formed.* A senior lecturer would have to be assigned to the special charge of its work. He would be expected to lecture in his district during the winter, besides giving constant advice and direction to the local committees and the district association. Dr. Roberts suggests that the plan might be the means of providing a

* "Cambridge University Local Lectures; Seventeenth Annual Report of the Syndicate," page 6. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.

place of sufficient honor and salary to command the services of men of the grade of university professors —a class of men whose assistance the promoters of University Extension are so anxious to gain. It is hoped, also, that the district associations will be of value in introducing the benefits of the system into the small country villages.

Mr. M. E. Sadler, the University Extension secretary at Oxford, has outlined a plan by which four towns near each other could establish a joint college.* Mr. Sadler says that five professors would be sufficient at first. Whether one town was made headquarters for the rest or not, each professor would visit all the towns once a week, to lecture and conduct classes during the day and in the evening. Under the direction of one of the professors, acting as principal, and through the assistance of public-spirited residents of the towns, the organization of the college would gradually be perfected, and the means solicited from local benefactors for endowments and buildings.

It is very significant in connection with the growth of University Extension, how local colleges have increased in England. Within the last fifteen years, colleges have been established in nearly every city of any considerable importance; or, if such institutions already existed, they have

* *The Paternoster Review*, December, 1890.

been strengthened and developed. University Extension has had a great influence in this movement. Some of these colleges can be traced back directly to extension centres. The others have been assisted and encouraged by extension workers. The relationship is still kept up by having University Extension lectures given at the local colleges. There is a constant tendency for the stronger centres to become assimilated to a college. They have their organized student body. They are coming to possess libraries, or they hold some special relation to a neighboring library or museum. By having entertainments, informal gatherings, and excursions of their own, a distinctive social life is developed. A students' dwelling, on the same plan as Wadham and Balliol Houses at Toynbee Hall, has been opened in connection with the Chelsea centre in London. It seems probable that this plan may be adopted by many city centres. If so, it will go far toward getting the extension system established and intrenched.

The London Society is trying hard to have the University of London become the nucleus of a great people's university. At present, the University of London does no teaching and has no resident students. It is merely an examining board with power to grant degrees. The London Society proposes that the University shall affiliate to itself

all the extension centres in London. While it shall assist the centres in their work, its main usefulness shall be that of a teaching university, to which the most promising of the extension students shall be enabled to go for more advanced university studies.* Cambridge University has an arrangement with certain centres similar to the one proposed by the London Society. This is a development of a custom followed by both the old universities, through which they affiliate local colleges. In addition to some other privileges granted these colleges, their students have one of the three required years of residence remitted by the universities. Cambridge gives the same privileges to several affiliated extension centres, on condition that the students desiring to avail themselves of them shall take a systematic course of lectures on literature and science, extending through a period of four years. The main value of this requirement is in that it gives breadth and sequence to the courses followed from term to term. It is acknowledged by all interested in the movement that there is a lack of these things in extension study. Oxford and the London Society try to meet the difficulty by giving special certificates

* The first steps have recently been taken toward a teaching university for London. The University of London, however, still holds firmly to its narrow methods.

to those who have followed plans of continuous and systematic study.

For keeping up the relation of the local centres to the university, Oxford relies especially upon the summer meetings. The first summer meeting was held at Oxford in 1888. The session lasted ten days, and there were nine hundred students present. In 1889, a second session was introduced, lasting for two weeks after the close of the first one. The number in attendance has been about the same from year to year, a good proportion remaining through the entire meeting. During the first part of the meeting, courses of three lectures are delivered in the mornings. In the evenings, there are addresses by eminent men, social meetings, and concerts. The afternoons, in accordance with the good Oxford custom, are largely occupied with out-door sports. The second session is quieter and less hurried. The subjects taken up at the first session are continued with greater fulness. There is more time given for reading.

Undoubtedly, the summer meeting furnishes a good deal more to the students than they can possibly assimilate, especially to those who remain only ten days. But those who manage the meetings feel that both the longer and the shorter sessions are in their different ways successful. It is

no small matter that the summer meeting introduces into the extension system the element of actual residence at a university. The extension students live in the colleges in much the same way as the Oxford students themselves live in term time. They listen to well-known university professors, and get acquainted with them at the social meetings. They breathe a little of that charmed atmosphere lingering about the old universities, which exercises so great an influence on the whole cultured life of England. At the Cambridge summer meeting, on account of lack of accommodation —many of the university students staying up during vacation —there are only about forty in attendance. But the smallness of the number makes it possible to gain more thorough and valuable results. The students remain a month, and are engaged in close laboratory work on the subjects they have had lectures upon during the preceding winter. Several scholarships have recently been established under which promising students may be sent to one or other summer meeting. Most of the students at both meetings are women. They stay at the women's colleges, as far as there is room for them.

The extension movement has been criticised because it ministers so largely to middle-class people, and especially to women. To this the re-

ply is that though more working people are very much desired, yet it is the function of University Extension to yield its benefits to all who seek them. Special arrangements are even made for afternoon lectures to suit the convenience of women. These afternoon lectures are attended to a considerable extent by elementary school teachers, male and female.

But, after all, the final test of the movement will undoubtedly be whether it can reach the intellectual need of working people. There are many encouraging signs of the ability of the University Extension movement to meet this test. There are some thriving centres among the miners at the North of England.* The lectures are largely attended, and the miners show their interest by coming long distances, and often by losing something from their wages in order to get away from their work in time. Recently, when several of the centres had to suspend their lectures on account of a strike which was going on, one centre arranged an exhibition in its village, which, by the co-operation of some other centres, brought in sufficient funds to justify their engaging a course of lectures as usual. Aid has been secured from the mine-owners and

* See "Eighteen Years of University Extension," by R. D. Roberts, D.Sc. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.

others to assist in continuing the lectures in this district.

In nearly all towns there are a fair number of artisan students. At the North the artisans take a special interest in University Extension. In many cases they have organized centres of their own, often, as has been mentioned, under the auspices of their local co-operative societies. Sometimes extension work is aided by the funds of co-operative societies. There is an increasing number of co-operators who believe that their system ought to make some regular provision for the education of its members. There can certainly be no question that English working men are learning to appreciate the value of education. Most of the labor leaders have risen by educating themselves at the cost of a great deal of self-denial. It is clearly recognized that intelligent men are necessary to direct the business of the trade unions. The prominence of this type of man in the unions exerts in turn a considerable influence on the rank and file. The University Extension system seems destined to meet this increasing desire of the working class for education. What is most of all needed, in order that university teaching may be brought to working men, is that there be lecturers who shall understand working men and shall be ready to meet

them on a plane of equality. The number of university graduates of this type is largely on the increase. The importance given to social studies at the universities, and the interest felt in the university settlements, as well as in the extension movement itself, are strong tendencies toward bringing educated men into right relations with working men.

A good deal of missionary effort is needed for the developing and strengthening of the system. More and more attention is being given to establishing centres in places where they have not sprung up spontaneously after the manner already described. In many cases, centres are brought together by means of single popular lectures, or by short experimental courses. The need of men to act as organizers is felt more and more. As time goes on, there will probably be a body of men whose whole duty will be that of forerunners to those that are to come.

It is at this point that the promoters of University Extension most feel the need of financial resources. The law of diminishing returns begins to operate. An average fee of twenty-five cents per lecture from each person may be borne by middle-class students, and may support the less complicated and less complete methods of the system as it now is. But if University Extension is

to be a comprehensive scheme for the higher education of the people—as it can be and ought to be—the way must be opened for it to increase its forces and develop its methods, while at the same time it puts its advantages easily within the means of every working man. Many of those interested in the movement are in favor of making an appeal for state aid. They are encouraged in their hopes by the grants voted by Parliament for the development of technical education and for the assistance of local colleges. Others fear that government assistance would mean government domination. But this objection is put forward rather as a caution than as a hindrance to the proposal. And it is a caution to be observed, because it would be a great loss if the movement were no longer to be directed from the universities. When this is allowed, however, one can easily see that something of national dignity and national resources, added to the valuable elements the system already possesses, would open up to University Extension vast and inspiring possibilities.

V

THE SOCIAL WORK OF THE CHURCH

INCREASING ACTIVITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND ITS EFFECT.—THE PARISH SYSTEM.—NECESSITY OF THE CHURCH'S UNDERTAKING SOCIAL WORK.—METHODS ADOPTED.—ST. GEORGE'S, CAMBERWELL.—ST. ANDREW'S, BETHNAL GREEN.—ST. JUDE'S, WHITECHAPEL.—MR. BARNETT'S UNIQUE ACTIVITIES.—OTHER EFFORTS AND TENDENCIES.—THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION.—THE LONDON CONGREGATIONAL UNION.—PROGRESSIVE WESLEYANS AND BAPTISTS.—THE MISSIONS OF DR. BARNARDO AND MR. CHARRINGTON.—OTHER RELIGIOUS BODIES.—SUNDAY-SCHOOLS.—THE GREAT CRITICISM.—GENERAL BOOTH'S SCHEME.—PRESENT ATTAINMENTS.—OBJECTIONS.—PROSPECTS OF THE SCHEME.

EVER since the Oxford Movement of 1840, there has been a steady increase of earnestness and activity in the Church of England. This was characteristic not only of the original Anglo-Catholic party, but of the Broad Church party of Maurice and Kingsley. These two influences have leavened the whole of the Church, and are now combined in fair proportion in the attitude of the young High Churchmen represented by the book

"Lux Mundi." Men holding this attitude are rapidly coming to the front in all phases of the Church's work. There is no other tendency in the Church of England of a vitality and promise to compare with that of this new movement. There are few clergymen, however, in any of the crowded centres of population, to whatever party they may belong, who do not endeavor, after their light, in season and out of season, to bring the ministry of religion to the masses of the people. Even in the case of Low Church Pietists and of High Church Ritualists, there are not lacking efforts toward giving to the poor, along with religious teaching, the privileges and pleasures of a better social life. The curse of the Established Church is in its country clergy, who are, to a large extent, aristocratic in their feeling, and often exercise a petty despotism over their parishes; and in some of the incumbents of churches in the fashionable divisions of cities, whose main use seems to be that of factors to polite society. It is such men who have made the word "parson," to many people, a word of contempt. But, on the whole, and in its main features, the Church of England exerts a larger and more salutary influence upon general social life than any other Christian body in the world. This influence often comes, it is true, in a patronizing way which is distasteful to self-

respecting working men. And yet there is a rapidly increasing number of the younger clergymen whose whole life and preaching goes to urge social equality as a necessary corollary to Christianity, to be worked out by moral, economic, and political means.

A very important element of the constitution of the Established Church is the parish system; under which every district has its church, that holds endowments, and must remain the church of the people of the district, though the well-to-do move away and the poor come in. It must still remain even though business houses largely displace the dwellings. The famous Bow Church, Cheapside, London, has practically no resident parishioners, except a few care-takers of commercial buildings. Thus the poor districts of London have been fairly well supplied with churches. Of course, when the districts become crowded, the church force becomes utterly inadequate. But it means a great deal that there are so many churches in East and South London, each independent and commanding the services of one or more experienced and able clergymen. For this reason, the work of the Church of England in the poor parts of London is happily not carried on in mission chapels to any large extent. No clergyman is subject to the

whims of a wealthy congregation at the other end of the city; each one casts in his lot with the people among whom he lives and works.

In the matter of religious services, on Sunday especially, the churches are, of course, held within rather narrow limits. The effort, therefore, is to have the services as frequent, simple, and earnest as possible. In the other lines of church activity there is the greatest variety. Most of the churches are well supplied with paid workers. In addition to the rectors or vicars, there will be found curates, lay readers, members of lay brotherhoods and sisterhoods, deaconesses, Bible women, and trained nurses, beside the usually well organized volunteers from the church membership. The ordinary works of religion and charity are very faithfully carried out, and a courageous effort is made by each church to include its whole district in such ministrations. But, aside from the almost insuperable difficulty of the vast number of persons to be reached by those distinctive efforts, there arises in every case the more immediate and pressing necessity of helping people into some natural physical and social life, without which attempts at religious training will be entirely futile. There are many places in East London where it would be impossible to conceive how a child could grow up into a healthy and moral maturity. In the

best parts, the hindrances to such growth are sufficiently strong. It thus becomes the plain duty of the churches, and indeed a necessary condition of their own continued existence, that a large part of their efforts should be taken up with so-called secular matters. There is probably not a single church of the Establishment in any working-class district in London but that has definitely abandoned the plan which makes a church merely an association of people for the culture and spread of the religious life.

The simplest form of church work in such a district would include attention to charitable relief, mainly in connection with the organized charities, and to the recreation of the people, usually through men's clubs, mothers' meetings, and clubs for boys and for girls. But not many churches would have so slight a social programme. There would be provident societies; entertainments and lectures in winter, and excursions in summer; indoor and out-door athletics; and more or less educational work, in addition to the usual parochial schools. In London, however, it is not so urgent that the churches should do much in the way of education, aside from the day-schools, as schools and technical classes in the evening are quite numerous, even in the poorer parts. Some churches allow properly conducted dancing in

their parish buildings. Some show special sympathy with men in their labor and in the management of their trades-unions: one church, ministering largely to artisans, arranges exhibitions of home arts; several along the docks allow branches of the Dockers' Union to hold their meetings in the parish rooms. A very striking instance of adaptation to the needs of environment is that of a ritualistic church, situated in a region where the people are largely criminal. The vicar maintains a model lodging-house of a very fine kind for men; but the lads' club is the special feature of his work. In his church building, the room consecrated to religious services is up-stairs—there being only one other such case in England—and just below is the club-room, whose main feature is a fully equipped prize ring, suitably enclosed, and raised from the floor for the sake of the spectators. Here, two or three evenings in the week, upwards of a hundred lads, nearly all of whom have been in prison, gather to see and participate in tournaments in boxing. When a person is invited to come as a visitor, it is suggested that perhaps it would be better not to bring a watch along. But the proceedings are quite orderly. All are intensely interested. The victors receive prizes and are met with great enthusiasm. Father Jay, the vicar, and a lay

brother, are present in their cassocks, to exercise general oversight of the meeting. At its close, every member extends his hand to Father Jay, each bidding the other good-night. The demand for entrance into the club far exceeds the capacity of the room. In such a way as this, many young fellows are brought under good influences, who would probably be plying their trade of pickpocket at the street corners, if only the usual mild excitements of church clubs were offered.

As to the methods adopted in general, one finds that there are several different kinds of churches. Some of the stronger churches approach the type of the fully organized institutional church, with its multitude of features. The large body of the churches form a second group, laying great stress on a few of the more obvious plans for meeting the needs of the poor; often, however, taking some special way of meeting a special need. The members of a third group try to avoid the dangers both of machinery and of conventionality, and by their unique efforts are broadening still further the mission of the Church to the working people. As to equipment, unquestionably the strongest working churches are those which include along with their regular forces the direct or indirect co-operation of university settlements. From this time forward, it seems likely that churches in

poor districts in large cities will more and more have the assistance of educated laymen actually living in the parish and entering into its interests. The three groups which have just been mentioned may perhaps be best illustrated by churches which also illustrate, each in a different way, the value of the co-operation of a university settlement: letting the first group be represented by St. George's Church, Camberwell, which is in charge of the Trinity College Mission; the second group, by St. Andrew's Church, Bethnal Green, which receives special help from the Oxford House; and the third, by St. Jude's Church, Whitechapel, with which Toynbee Hall is informally connected through its clergy, and in many ways besides.

The parish of St. George's has a population of over 20,000. The vicar of the parish, three curates, and two Trinity missioners, live together in a large, old-fashioned vicarage near the church. Besides the church, the clergy house, and the home of the lay settlement, the other buildings used are the parish schools, two mission halls, a mission house, and a sisters' home; while a large building for mission and club uses is approaching completion. Services are held on Sunday at three different centres, and Sunday-school at four. At each centre there is a list of guilds, clubs, and

societies, designed to bring attendants into close relation with the religious and social life of the church. The whole parish is covered by an elaborate system of district visitors, with a sisterhood, some of whom are trained nurses, to minister to the more urgent cases of need. An attempt is made to keep a complete register of the parish. Each visitor is supplied with the list for her district, and the report of all visits is carefully kept. All of this is most significant, as St. George's Church was in a low condition when the Trinity Mission, led by the Rev. Norman Campbell, the present vicar, took it in charge.

The parish of St. Andrew's, in which the Oxford House is situated, has a population of over 13,000. St. Andrew's Church has a staff of thirteen paid workers. There are frequent services at the church and at its mission halls. Clubs are carried on for young people, and for men and women. Great importance is given to house-to-house visitation. The clergy of St. Andrew's have found their forces greatly strengthened by the help of the Oxford House men. There is some loss, however, resulting from the fact that each agency works independently, though their purposes are so largely the same.

At St. George's, Camberwell, the church and the settlement are one organization. In Bethnal

Green, the two are not formally connected, though they have a unity of interest. In the case of Toynbee Hall and St. Jude's Church, the two are, by intention, quite distinct, and yet each acts as the complement of the other. There is not a more interesting church work in England than Mr. Barnett's. Here through all these years this noble Christian idealist has gone on preaching and exemplifying his gospel of the beauty of holiness, in a district whose inhabitants are in large part made up of the loathsome Jews of Rag Fair, and the denizens of the common lodging-houses of Brick Lane, of whom many have hardly the semblance of humanity left. Mr. Barnett has done much toward cleaning this region out. He has been the means of having some of the worst slums demolished and model tenement-houses erected. In this way a saving remnant of honest, sober working men have been brought into the parish, and it is an important element in the work of St. Jude's Church, as also of Toynbee Hall, to serve as a centre of light and hope in the little community which has thus been formed. Among the many and varied lines of the activity of St. Jude's Church, which aim to touch all sides of life, the most notable are in the direction of drawing out the higher nature through music and art. The annual St. Jude's Picture Exhibition has be-

come one of the events of the year for East London, if not for the whole of the metropolis. The exhibition is held each spring in the school building, and lasts for three weeks, including Sundays. It is usually opened with an address by some famous artist. The pictures are lent by artists and collectors. At the exhibition of 1891, more than 70,000 people visited the show, and there was a very large number of the penny descriptive catalogues sold. Several persons were always on hand to give explanations, as well as to guard the pictures. Mr. Barnett says, "Experience has settled the question as to whether people care for pictures."

Through the year, oratorios and organ recitals are given on week-day evenings in the church, the oratorios especially being well attended. Evening classes in vocal and instrumental music are held. But of all that goes on at St. Jude's during a week, the rare thing is the exercise which brings to a close the Sunday services, fitly called the "Worship Hour." It occurs at half-past eight. Each evening some sentiment is chosen as a sort of subject. The programme is taken up with anthems by a special choir, and organ or violin solos, together with hymns sung by the congregation, a few prayers, and a short reading or address, —everything being kept in harmony with the sen-

timent of the particular evening. Into no service does the feeling of reverence and aspiration enter more thoroughly. Often at the Worship Hour the seats are every one taken. The audience includes all classes, even the poorest people, many of whom would never be found at any ordinary church service. At the close, Mrs. Barnett, or one of her lady helpers,* distributes the flowers banked in the font at the entrance, to those who most need a touch of brightness in their homes.

The general work of the Church of England in East London is under the Bishop of Bedford; that of South London is under the Bishop of Rochester. The Bishop of Bedford's East London Church Fund fulfils the function of a city mission association. The Fund is not applied to starting new churches, however, but by the support of further workers, to strengthening existing churches. The Additional Curates Society also follows this admirable plan of home mission work. This plan fosters the variety of occupation in the work of the Church of England. Sisterhoods and brotherhoods are as yet not numerous, but seem likely to increase. Deaconesses, who take no vow, are numerous and successful in their way. Most well-

* Mrs. Barnett has lately established a St. Jude's House, which is a settlement of young women who have volunteered to assist in the work of the parish.

managed churches have trained nurses on their staffs.

The churches situated in the central parts of London, as well as many at the West End, accomplish useful social work; for indeed poverty is never far away in London. In addition to caring for the special needs of poor districts near them, some of the churches in the old City have a service and an address to business men every day at about noon. Others have frequent lectures and discussions on questions of practical religion. Others still use some of their endowments for musical services and oratorios. St. Paul's Cathedral, by all its associations, its music, and the preaching of Canon Scott Holland, exerts a great influence on the life of London. In this respect it has almost taken the position that was occupied by Westminster Abbey under Dean Stanley.

In none of the other English cities do general philanthropic efforts have the relative importance among churches of the Establishment that they have in London. But that the Church of England is getting awaked to the present phases of social movements is well shown by recent Church Congresses. Such utterances as those of the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Westcott) leave no uncertain impression as to the steadily growing demand that the Church shall be thoroughly committed to the

remedying, in every reasonable way, of the unjust and demoralizing influences of existing social conditions.

Some account has been given of the Guild of St. Matthew, a Church Socialist society. Two years ago, there was organized in Oxford the Christian Social Union, with headquarters at the Pusey House. The object of the Christian Social Union is, without taking up any formal propaganda, to urge upon the Church the necessity of careful and painstaking study of the social question, and to take the lead in establishing branches for such study. The plan is for the Oxford branch, which has about a hundred members, to prepare outlines of books to be read and subjects to be discussed by the branches throughout England. In this way the Union went through Schaeffle's "Quintessence of Socialism," and has recently been studying the blue-book on "Strikes." Circulars are now being sent out, whose aim is to lead the separate branches to begin careful and systematic investigations into the economic and social situation in their own localities. These things show that the Christian Social Union proposes to do much more than merely to stir sentiment. Already it publishes the valuable *Economic Review*, which was the first periodical of the kind to be issued in England.

It is likely that, as the Union grows in strength, there will be a corps of lecturers to go from Oxford to the other branches, somewhat on the University Extension plan. As a rule, the branches are parish organizations, and are under the leadership of the clergymen. The clergymen associated with the Union are mainly connected with the new High Church party at Oxford, which takes the same earnest, progressive attitude on social questions as on theological. The spirit of this party is well expressed in the manifesto of the Christian Social Union when it says, speaking of the disordered social conditions of the time, that "the present situation is intolerable," and that "its solution must be found in the unfaltering assertion of *moral*, as supreme over *mechanical*, laws." An increasing number of the leaders of the Union are Socialists.

Among all of the Dissenting bodies, a more or less active social programme is being taken up. There is, it is true, some danger always that Nonconformity will become for religion what the old Liberalism is for politics, a mere middle-class institution, feeling even less concern about the lower grades of labor than the people of the upper class do. But in the different Nonconformist denominations, this danger seems likely to be escaped. Their problem is, in some respects, simpler than

that of the Church of England. Their democratic constitution suits the free spirit of the cities and towns. Much the larger proportion of their support comes from the business and manufacturing centres; they are therefore better able to approach questions from a common point of view and to adopt a policy that will be in some measure comprehensive and uniform. On the other hand, they have the disadvantage of lacking the parish system, and thus lose the feeling of relation to each part of the social fabric, a feeling which the system of having an independent church in each district always suggests. For this reason, the work of the Nonconformists among the poor has to be done largely through the inferior means of outlying stations, mission chapels, and city mission societies. In these ways, however, they are having substantial success both in London and in the Northern towns. Nonconformity does not, indeed, as a whole, make much progress; but that is mainly to be ascribed to defections of its well-to-do people to the Established Church.

The Congregationalists are easily the most influential Nonconformist body. Though they have a number of strong and active churches in the poorer parts of London, yet their most valuable agency in such regions is the London Congregational Union. It was this organization, through

its secretary, the Rev. Andrew Mearns, that issued, in 1883, the tract called "The Bitter Cry of Outcast London," which was so largely the means of stirring up the newspapers, the churches, and the universities, with regard to the shocking condition of some parts of East and South London. The district described in "The Bitter Cry," called Collier's Rents, in South London, is the main centre of the work of the Union. At the mission hall, in the midst of this place of narrow alleys, close courts, and winding passages, the week is usually begun with a five-o'clock Sunday morning breakfast for people who have been spending the night on London Bridge, or along the Embankment, for lack of better accommodations. After the breakfast, a religious service is held. In times of special stress, the hall is kept open all night as a place of shelter. Every effort is made to help these wretched people, by clothing them and by trying to find employment for them. There is a Sunday-school at which the children are fed, as has to be done at so many day-schools in London. Then there are sewing classes, mothers' meetings, temperance clubs, play hours, a gymnastic class for girls, and general entertainments, besides two or three mission services a week. The neighborhood is carefully visited by missionaries and trained nurses. An especial interest is taken in the chil-

dren to see that they are not half starved in the winter, and to insure them a fortnight in the country in summer. The other stations maintained by the London Congregational Union are of the more familiar mission chapel type, though they, too, give active charitable help in their districts. A great hindrance at these chapels, as indeed at all churches in poorer quarters, is that the most valuable members, who are, of course, most likely to be thrifty, are constantly leaving to move to some pleasanter locality. Thus, the same influence which is building up congregations made up exclusively of the rich in fashionable quarters extends all the way along the social ladder. The result is that the slum at the bottom continues much the same. There is every indication that the stern call of Christian duty along the upper ranges, where so much of the responsibility for the creation of slums must rest, will from this time forward be producing a return movement in which the best of those at the top will become neighbors and friends to the despised and forgotten humanity which makes up the residuum at the bottom.

An interesting instance of what can sometimes be done by a wealthy suburban church, is furnished by the Lyndhurst Road Congregational Church in Hampstead, of which the Rev. Robert F.

Horton, one of the younger Congregational leaders, is the pastor. Besides two flourishing missions in neighboring districts, with charitable and educational features, there are adult schools in the morning and pleasant meetings in the afternoon on Sunday for working men at the church. A series of popular entertainments is carried on during the winter. There is a friendly society, a social reform league, and a sanitary aid committee. On the first Sunday evening of every month, Mr. Horton preaches a special sermon to working men, at which a very large audience is always present. In these ways, though the church is located in one of the finest of London suburbs, it still finds and attaches to itself a considerable body of working-class people.

In the Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist bodies, there are growing elements of men who are devoting themselves, along with their advocacy of a progressive theology and a renewed religious enthusiasm, to earnest efforts for the improvement of social conditions. The Baptists have not as yet done so much in this line, owing in a measure to the opposition of Mr. Spurgeon; but the party of the "down grade" is one from which much is to be hoped, both in London and at the North. The "Forward Movement" among the Wesleyans, having the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes

for a leader, and Mr. Percy Bunting, editor of *The Contemporary Review*, for a strong supporter, is rapidly growing in numbers and influence. The most striking success of this party has been in the West London Mission, under the superintendence of Mr. Hughes, in many respects the most remarkable piece of church work in England. Mr. Hughes and the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse, his associate, are both acknowledged to be very able preachers. They combine intelligence, radical social feeling, and religious fervor in a high degree. Their services are held at St. James's Hall, the finest public hall in London, on Sundays, and at Prince's Hall, near by, on Fridays. There are two other halls in the West End which are connected with the Mission. In 1888, 123 members were reported; in 1890, 827 members, with 251 on trial. Of this number it is said that three-fourths had no previous church connection. The theory upon which the Mission is based is that, in a great city, the method of confining special effort to a single district always necessarily leaves many people uncared for; hence the advisability of taking a large field, and by the use of somewhat more general methods, gleaning through the whole of it. Connected with the Mission, there is a sisterhood under the direction of Mrs. Hughes. It has about fifteen members, who are under no binding

promises, but live together in groups and gradually apply themselves to some specialty of religious and social work. They are interested in clubs for boys and girls, mothers' meetings, charitable relief, nursing of the poor, and securing country holidays for children.

There are two large missions in the East End of London, without denominational connection, which resemble that of the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes. One is conducted by Dr. T. J. Barnardo, at the Edinburgh Castle; the other by Mr. F. N. Charrington, at the Great Assembly Hall. The Edinburgh Castle, once a public-house, has been turned into a coffee-house and book-stall, and behind it is a large hall capable of seating 3,000 persons. This place, however, is in the main an evangelistic centre for the various charitable institutions carried on by Dr. Barnardo in different parts of the East End. Mr. Charrington's mission is much more interesting, partly on account of his own romantic history. He belongs to one of the wealthiest families of brewers in England. Some fifteen years ago he came strongly under the good influence of a young companion with whom he was travelling on the Continent; and when he returned he began to be a sort of street missionary in East London, near his father's brewery. His father threatened to disinherit him, but finally

left him a share in the brewery. He then sold out his interest to his brothers, and built the Great Assembly Hall. This Hall has a seating capacity of nearly 5,000; it is one of the best in London, and occupies about the most conspicuous place in the whole of the East End. Besides the largely attended services on Sunday, there is some kind of meeting held nearly every evening, including temperance meetings, lectures, and concerts. One of the most valuable uses of the Hall is that of a place where the working men of London can meet to express their grievances and consider plans of action. It has been no slight element in the progress of the unskilled laborers at the docks that they could come in such numbers to the Great Assembly Hall, without any charge, and listen in an orderly way to the counsels of their leaders. Mr. Charrington acts as treasurer of the Dockers' Union, and its central offices are at the Great Assembly Hall. The mission, in all its distinctive features, shows a highly commendable spirit. It has a numerous staff of workers, and follows a long and varied list of religious, charitable, and educational activities.

The great London City Mission, with its five hundred missionaries, is committed to an almost purely evangelistic policy. It does a very remarkable work in this line. Over a hundred men are

told off, each to minister to the religious needs of some one kind of working people, many of whom are hindered by the oppressive nature of their occupations from having any opportunity of attending church services. For the rest of the missionaries, the entire metropolis is districted, and each man is assigned to a special locality, where he usually acts under the direction of a resident clergyman or minister.

The Unitarians have not applied themselves in any large degree to the practical problems of poverty. But many of them are taking a very strong stand with regard to the more political and public aspects of the social question. A number of Unitarian ministers in different parts of the country openly advocate Land Nationalization and Socialism. The Roman Catholics, whose constituency among the poor is mainly confined to Irish emigrants, pay great attention to temperance, but are slow to take up new methods in their parish work. Some of the younger priests are followers of Cardinal Manning in his demand for thorough-going social reform, and in his sympathy with organized labor. Cardinal Manning does not, it is to be feared, carry a great body of Roman Catholic support with him; but, for himself, there is no man in ecclesiastical position in England so well acquainted with the labor movement, and so

influential among its leaders. The Jews, of course, take very good care that their own people shall not be brought to a condition of beggary. In addition to this, there are tendencies among educated Jews toward attempting to elevate their brethren intellectually and socially. It has recently been pointedly suggested by some of them that the Chief Rabbi ought to reside in Whitechapel, where the majority of his flock are. Dr. Stanton Coit, lecturer of the South Place Ethical Society, who founded the old Neighborhood Guild in New York, conducts an East London branch society, and a guild at Leighton Hall, Kentish Town, in the northwest metropolitan division. The Theosophists, even, to prove faith by works, have established a girls' club in the East End.

The sketch which has been given of the activity of the London churches will include nearly everything that is attempted at the North of England and in Scotland. In general, the working class, being more independent and thrifty at the North, does not demand so much charitable effort on the part of the church. In Birmingham, for instance, the stress of extreme poverty is comparatively light, and even in Manchester there are very few cases where families have but a single room. In Edinburgh and Glasgow, however, the conditions are hardly better than in London. The

Presbyterian churches carry on aggressive mission work, but the tendency of Christian people in Scotland seems to be to try to meet the social problems without the use of church machinery. This is quite possible in Scotland, where sectarian boundaries are easily passed over, and where the poor people, having had early religious training, are quite open to the simpler and more distinctive influences of religion.

The Sunday-schools of the North of England are very interesting, and even remarkable, for the new forms of educational and social experiment which they have taken up. In connection both with Nonconformist churches and with churches of the Establishment, they are organized as societies or clubs, and in many cases arrangements are made for some amusement, entertainment, or class for general study, on every evening of the week, and for out-door recreation in summer. The Sunday morning adult schools, which were begun by the Quakers at Birmingham forty years ago, and are still carried on largely by them, have of late increased so much that the schools now have a membership of 20,000 in and near Birmingham. Schools of this kind are now being introduced into churches of various denominations in London, where they have already 2,500 members, and the leaders in the movement expect a

large increase. The plan of these schools is to confine their membership to men, who shall be invited to come for instruction in reading and writing, together with some study of the Bible. The Bible is used as fitly serving a double purpose. After the reading, the passage is freely discussed. The one taking charge of a class does not pose as a teacher; he is called the president, and formal elections take place from time to time. It is strenuously insisted upon that the schools must be kept free from all sectarian propaganda. An important secret of the success of these schools is the hour at which they are held, eight o'clock A.M.—just the time when a working man's home is likely to be least inviting, and when there is no other place to go to. The best type of school is carried on in a building of its own, adapted to its special methods, and not used for ordinary church services. In such a building the adult school takes on a large number of features. On Sunday afternoons a school for women is held; in the evening a general meeting. All the week-day evenings are taken up with a variety of matters in the way of self-help, education, and recreation, which would do credit to the best of working men's clubs. The plan of these adult schools is really a fresh and important contribution. Their success suggests that a simple Chris-

tianity, free from theological and ecclesiastical refinements, and expressing itself in terms which embody answers to honest human needs, will be as irresistible as a law of nature.

It is because the present activity in all branches of the Christian Church in England is to so large a degree taking such form, that it is feeling so much new life in itself and is coming to have so much better relations with the working people. But this is only a small beginning compared with what remains to be done. In the main line of the progress of the working class, in the labor movement, there are practically no direct influences coming from the churches. It is a critical matter that the men who best represent the labor movement, men of sturdy integrity and noble purpose, are seriously estranged from the churches. No doubt these men are somewhat embittered; but who can say that they have not had cause?

The great criticism to be made upon nearly all bodies of Christians in England is that they are not democratic enough. It is true that usually churches of the Establishment are open daily and the seats free. The Nonconformists, also, are making rapid strides toward the free-seat system. But the trouble is that working men will not come among people who, as individuals, disregard their dearest interests. As long as class distinctions

hold among the attendants at a church—whether based on position, wealth, or learning—it will be difficult, if not impossible, to secure the co-operation of self-respecting working men. It may safely be said that wherever in English cities a church succeeds in winning the confidence of the better grades of poor people, and actually bringing them into a state of independence and self-reliance, that church has been pervaded, not merely in its constitution, but in the personal relations of its members, with the feeling of social equality. As long as Christians sustain the attitude of "superior persons," the best of the working men will hold aloof from outward Christianity. The spirit of an active sympathy is the essential thing; without it, all methods will be understood to be merely baits for the catching of proselytes. At a large Low Church mission in London, a class in rudimentary knowledge for working men is held two or three evenings a week during the winter. All the men have to agree to remain to a prayer-meeting after the lesson, and they are clearly assured by the teachers that of course no such trouble would be taken to give them instruction but for the expectation that it would lead to the conversion of their souls.

When one passes below the grade of the regularly employed working man, into the two lowest

grades—that of the casual laborer living with his family in a room or two, and that of the idler and criminal, who lives in common lodging-houses—it is easy to see that the churches have very little influence in the first grade, and practically none at all in the second. It is to these two grades that the scheme of General Booth is to minister. It ought to be well understood that before the Salvation Army took up definite social work it had little, if any, more success than other evangelistic agencies have among these people. The campaign of purely emotional religion in the East of London was a failure. General Booth has been keen enough to recognize this; and we see first the East End barracks turned into food and shelter depots, then a Social Reform Wing established, and finally the social scheme of the book, "In Darkest England, and the Way Out." In order to get the full importance of the marked change of policy, it must be remembered that the decision to turn the enthusiasm of the Army strongly into social channels is very recent in General Booth's mind. It is a fact of much significance that the greatest popular religious leader of this century should make so sudden and far-reaching a change in a programme which had been settling into fixed form during twenty-five years. It ought to show the Church at large that

Christianity, if still to have the original message to the poor and the oppressed, must first free them from hunger, exposure, and the whole inhuman bondage of abject poverty, so as to lead them forward to a position where it shall begin to be possible for them to understand a little about the liberty of the sons of God.

Not much was done by the Salvation Army toward supplying the needs of the poor until the dock strike in 1889, though two food depots had been opened the year before. In connection with the agitations of the unemployed about Trafalgar Square, Captain Frank Smith had been holding meetings among these men. One day he returned to General Booth and insisted that it was useless longer to try to preach to the soul without first feeding the body. But General Booth was quite averse to entering upon any large plan of charitable relief at that time, and Captain Smith retired from the service of the Army. At the beginning of 1890, however, he was recalled, appointed commissioner, and given direction of the Social Reform Wing. Under his energetic and capable management, the number of shelters and food depots was increased. He organized a very successful labor bureau. He saved the sandwich-poster men from a cruel sweating system, and by hiring them out himself,

was able almost to double their wages. He established a factory in Whitechapel with a capacity for about a hundred hands. He planned a match factory, at which he expected to employ a large number of girls on a co-operative system, at least until the great match firms should begin to show mercy. His fertile mind seemed full of such plans, and he was coming to have a large number of friends among social workers in London. Meanwhile General Booth's book had been issued, to which Commissioner Smith's work had to a large extent furnished a basis, and the money of subscribers began to pour in. Commissioner Smith found that his department was receiving very limited supplies. He became satisfied that not sufficient care was being taken to keep the new accounts separate from those of the regular finances of the Army. Not having his inquiries as to these matters fairly answered, and under the smart of numerous petty interferences with his work, he resigned his office and left the Army.*

While it is difficult to see how so valuable a man could have been allowed to go, it is shown that now, at least, the two sets of books are to be kept quite separate, and the original work of the

* Mr. Smith is now engaged in trying to form a Labor Army, in which he proposes working men shall co-operate under the military idea for the sake of their own advancement and in order to elevate their less favored fellows.

Social Reform Wing is continued on the same lines as those laid down by Commissioner Smith.

In any review of the social work of the Army, the success of General Booth's book is no small element. Probably 200,000 copies have been sold. Over $500,000 have been subscribed in response to it. It has stirred people again all over the world to the crying needs of the poor of London, and also, it is to be hoped, to the miseries of the poor at their own doors. It has elicited the support of all sorts of persons, from bishops of the Church to the Marquis of Queensberry. Very much of this is, of course, owing to Mr. W. T. Stead. The literary form of the book is largely his, and many of its most striking ideas. He gave the book its great publicity through articles in his *Review of Reviews*. It is an interesting fact that it was he who brought "The Bitter Cry" to the attention of the country, by his articles in *The Pall Mall Gazette*. It is perhaps idle to consider how much regenerating social activity would never have gone into East London if those articles had not been written, and the tract had reached only the usual readers of such things.

Any detailed exposition of General Booth's scheme will perhaps be unnecessary here. The scheme begins with the food and shelter depots, to which all without other resorts are expected

to drift. The patrons of these depots are to be given a chance of employment in factories, workshops, or at other industries—the whole enterprise thus far being organized into a city colony. As the city colony prospers, rural colonies will be formed, to which the best members of the city colony are to be drafted. Last of all, over-sea colonies are to be developed by a selective process from the rural colonies.

The work of getting the scheme launched has thus far had to do almost wholly with the city colony. A lodging-house of a somewhat better grade than the others has been opened, with accommodations for two hundred people. A lodging-house for families, and another large one, like the original shelters, for men only, have also been opened. An old brewery is being prepared for use as a combined shelter and factory, and there is to be a hall in Whitechapel where poor women can find employment. Suitable quarters have been obtained for a prison gate brigade, and there is to be a workshop where fifty ex-prisoners can be employed. Arrangements are being made to extend the scheme to Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, and Bristol. Land for a rural colony has been secured, and the farm-work begun. The over-sea colony will, of course, have to await the progress of the scheme at home. There have

already been a number of small efforts in the way of transferring the poor of London to rural districts and to the colonies; but experiments have not as yet gone far enough to indicate how great their success will be. A man who has been active in this line for some years, the Rev. Herbert V. Mills, has given his endorsement to General Booth's scheme. Mr. Mills' organization, the Home Colonization Society, has turned over five-sixths of its funds to General Booth.

What success is this enterprise likely to have? We can begin to answer the question best by reviewing the social work already accomplished by the Salvation Army. It is at least impossible to gainsay the results attained by the rescue homes and by the prison gate brigades, which have been carried on by the Army since 1884. The rescue work is one of the noblest instances in the world of woman's work for woman. In London, there are now sixteen slum corps; in provincial cities, twelve. These corps are made up of Army lasses, often fresh from the country. In some cases they are set down in the most degraded spots. In other cases, in accordance with the nature of our social system, their field lies but a little way aside from where the central stream of civilization passes. In any case, they go freely to whatever places may seem to call for their helpful minis-

try. A nun, bound by a triple vow, is not safer in the sanctity of veil and robes than these slum sisters in the utter simplicity of their faith. There are now twelve rescue homes in England, and seventeen in other countries, including several in America. At the London homes, in 1889, 1,029 girls and women were cared for. In every case the effort is to find employment for them. A large number of rescue home inmates are kept busy with various kinds of light labor at the homes, such as book-binding, machine-knitting, needle-work, and the making of mottoes for meeting halls. As far as possible they are put to service in Christian households.

The prison gate brigades first began their work in Australia and India. In both countries, the brigades have received the hearty support of government officials. One Australian city supplies a building where discharged prisoners may be put under the Army's care. One of the colonial governments gives free transportation for those sent by the Army to employment at a distance. In London, the department, which has been very useful for seven years, will now be increased and given suitable quarters. The members of the brigade bring released prisoners from the prison gates every morning in the "Red Maria." There have recently been instances where magistrates

have, instead of committing men, sent them in charge of a police officer to the Salvation Army factory.

In connection with the efforts begun more recently, and yet previous to the publication of General Booth's book, there are in London alone 920 people sheltered nightly, and 6,000 cheap meals served every day. The usual charge for supper, lodging, and breakfast, all of course in the simplest style, is eight cents. At the original factory, there are now 120 men engaged at carpentering, painting, brush-making, wood-chopping, mat-making, and other industries. At first they are given merely their board and lodging at the shelters. Gradually, if they prove faithful, they rise to full trade-union rates of wages, and then have situations found for them.

Thus what has already actually been done shows at least that there are very considerable possibilities in the Salvation Army for acting as a redeeming social agent. In any case, such possibilities would be indicated by the wonderful constitution and discipline of the Salvation Army, which has enabled it to spread through the world; to have most of its divisions, even in the mission field, self-supporting; to be facing such a vast variety of problems and yet adapting itself to the needs of each separate situation; all this, though

held together only by an humble, unquestioning faith, and a few forms and symbols taken up out of the life of these prosaic times. This modern crusade has developed a type of character which is in important respects something new in the history of Christianity. With the exception of the Franciscans, there has been no large body of people at all comparable with the Salvation Army in its fitness for bringing a stirring enthusiasm and a personal love into the service of outcast and oppressed humanity.

There have been three main lines of criticism of General Booth's scheme. Mr. Huxley has called attention to the despotic nature of the Army's government and to the possibility of great abuses arising. While in a large measure recognizing this, it must be said in reply that under General Booth's administration, and in the one following—during which at least the Army could go on with the acquired momentum—there can be no great danger in this direction. Also, since Mr. Huxley's letters were published, General Booth has executed a trust bond and appointed a consulting committee, thus providing a just security, while not introducing outside interference with the direction of the Army's members. As to Mr. Huxley's fears with regard to the growing strength of the Army as a peculiar religious

organization, they have little weight or much, according as one acknowledges or rejects the absolute value of the religious life, and the justice of a historic sense which can appreciate the force of this life in a variety of manifestations. A more serious criticism is that of Mr. C. S. Loch, secretary of the Council of the Charity Organization Society, London. Mr. Loch's criticism is on the ground of the uneconomic nature of some of the methods and proposals of the Army. It must be acknowledged that there are grave dangers of this nature involved in the scheme, but it has by no means been shown that the dangers cannot be safely passed through. Already the criticism of the food and shelter depots, that they pauperize the poor by charging too low prices, is being met by the plan of making these depots simply the way of entrance into the factories and workshops where the most hopeless of the poor are taught the lesson of industry and thrift. Indeed, the officers of the Social Reform Wing, and General Booth himself, have given much time to consulting with specialists as to the economic bearings of different parts of the scheme. A third line of objections has come from persons engaged in social work similar to that undertaken by the Army. Their objection that money has been diverted from the support of institutions and soci-

eties already at work is in a measure true; and against a plan which furnished no new ground for hope, the objection would have great weight. But from the same quarter has come the complaint that General Booth's scheme proposes nothing new. The obvious reply is that the uniting of various plans into one organized whole is the important feature of the scheme, and that in this it is essentially novel. In some of the objections urged by Church of England clergymen, there has been a noticeable tinge of jealousy that another popular religious body outside of the Church should be getting prominence and power in the social life of the country. This feeling has caused increased attention to be given to the Church Army, a small organization which does a valuable work in its way, but is, after all, merely a sublimated imitation of the Salvation Army.

So that, while recognizing the many limitations, and even dangers, which the peculiar nature of the Salvation Army puts upon the operation of such a vast social scheme, a large number of the best English people have felt that the work proposed must be done, and quickly; and that the Salvation Army was in some remarkable ways fitted to do it. Of course, no one expects that General Booth will accomplish all that he has set before himself. But the experiment

will be sure to make valuable additions to the knowledge of social conditions and their best remedies. It does not even attempt to remove the cause of pauperism; but it will do much to develop means adequate to its removal when the facts are fully found out.

The moral side of social progress certainly can no more express itself in this age without comprehensive movements than the industrial side can. In every age, it has been the mission of Christianity to take the common, current problems of human life, and lift them up into the light of eternal principles; and then give them some outward representation to stir the imaginations of men until they forgot the limits of race and custom, and became apostles and heroes and martyrs. Christianity will be untrue to itself if it do not, under some new vision and with a strong, united force, give form and voice to the aspirations for a better society that are rising among the people of all civilized countries. The first large original impulse going out in this way to meet the evils, to attain the hopes, most characteristic of our time, is that of the Salvation Army with its world-wide campaign. One must admit that at many points the Salvation Army lacks knowledge. But so did early Christianity, according to its own confession.

VI

CHARITY AND PHILANTHROPY

LONDON CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY.—ADMINISTRATION OF CHARITY IN THE STEPNEY DISTRICT.—THE CHILDREN'S COUNTRY HOLIDAY FUND.—METROPOLITAN PUBLIC GARDENS ASSOCIATION.—MANSION HOUSE COUNCIL ON THE DWELLINGS OF THE PEOPLE.—LONDON NURSES.—THE KYRLE SOCIETY, AND THE MINISTRY OF BEAUTY.—THE SCOTCH SOCIAL UNIONS.—THE LADIES' ASSOCIATION FOR USEFUL WORK, IN BIRMINGHAM.—THE ANCOATS BROTHERHOOD, IN MANCHESTER.—MR. CHARLES BOOTH'S INVESTIGATIONS.—MODEL TENEMENT-HOUSES.—LADY RENT COLLECTORS.—ECONOMIC EXPERIMENTS.

THE great awakening as to the condition of the poor in English cities has had one of its best results in a renewed effort to put the administration of charity upon a sound economic basis. The conditions of public relief have, it is true, been gradually improving ever since the reform of the old poor-law in 1834. But it is only of recent years that there has been any measurable success in eliminating the tendency toward pauperization which has been the bane of the English charity system. Even now, there are only a few districts in the whole country where food and money are

not doled out, under some general restrictions, but with little or no discrimination of individual cases. The slightest glance into the history of the English poor-laws will show how such a plan degrades the poor, destroys their independence, and spreads pauperism as by a sort of contagion, besides adding to the burden of taxation which self-reliant working people have to bear.

In 1869 the London Charity Organization Society was formed. Between that time and this it has had a long, slow struggle with the public relieving officers and with the dispensers of private charity. The progress of the Society has been a gradual educating influence, showing the harmfulness of giving charity without investigation as to whether there is actual need. Under an organized system, furnishing facilities for finding quite accurately what the probable effect of a gift will be, it becomes to an enlightened conscience a shirking of duty to give indiscriminately. This attitude is now taken almost universally by persons administering voluntary charities in London, and to a very large extent such persons have some affiliated relation with the Charity Organization Society. To bring the public relieving officers up to this view, especially with the present poor-law against it, is a matter more difficult.

The London Charity Organization Society is

composed of the Central Council and forty branch committees, covering in their scope the whole of the Metropolitan Area. The specific object of the Society, of course, is to organize existing charities, rather than to act itself as a distributor of alms; but in practice the branch committees are the main centres for dispensing voluntary charity in their respective districts. As far as possible, these committees are made up of persons connected with the distribution of either church or private charities in their districts; they thus form a connecting link between workers of different kinds. The sections to be covered are made as small as possible, both for the sake of securing thorough work, and also for the sake of having each committee in large measure identify itself with the local life, and secure the interest and co-operation of all the people within its scope, of whatever creed or class. It is a favorite idea of Mr. C. S. Loch, who, as secretary of the Council, has general direction of the Society's work, and is perhaps the first English authority on questions of charity, that a local committee should become a general leavening influence in its district; that it should call out the active support of the well-to-do in the assistance of the needy and in other efforts for social improvement; that it should bring citizens to realize the importance of the functions of local

boards of government and education. It is strongly insisted that on each committee there should be several persons who have developed by experience a special skill in the treatment of cases entered for charitable aid. In fact, the administration of charity in its organized methods is both a science and an art: there is first a careful investigation, in which data are collected from all possible sources; then arrangements for co-operative action; and finally, after help has been rendered, a good deal of care to make sure that the person aided has improved under the aid which he has received.

The experience of members of committees, or "almoners," when taken up in this broad way, is very valuable, aside from the human interest of it, in developing a trained social sense which will look with clear insight into all the various phases of social movements. The marked increase of persons of this type in London and the other English cities is bringing about increased municipal purity and strength. The work of the charity committees in the East End of London is to a considerable degree done by men and women from other parts of the metropolis, who identify themselves in various ways with their special districts. This again is an instance of how strongly the best of English life is running out as

fresh nerve-force into the helpless extremities of the social body.

The Council of the London Charity Organization Society exerts a large influence. It is the centre of all the affiliated charity societies of the Kingdom, and is in correspondence with similar organizations in all the large cities of the world. The Council is made up of representatives of the district committees. It exercises general control on matters of policy over these committees, and has a plan by which visitors from the Council inspect the work of the committees from time to time. It considers carefully all large plans, undertaken either by municipal bodies, trades-unions, churches, or individuals, which affect questions of charity; sending out the results of its deliberations in articles and pamphlets and in definite instructions to committees. The Council is now making an effort to have addresses and courses of lectures given under the auspices of the district branches, on the history and methods of charity, as well as on other departments of practical social science. The object is to get the mass of the people of each district to take an intelligent interest both in the voluntary social work of the district and in its political administration.

The Council directs the larger charitable efforts which would not come so easily within the scope

of the branches. A medical sub-committee provides for the supply of surgical apparatus, and for the sending of convalescents, recommended by the branches, to the various convalescent homes which have been established in the country and at the seaside. In some years, nearly two thousand patients are sent out in this way, being mainly those just leaving the hospitals. An emigration sub-committee assists unemployed persons to emigrate; not, however, without carefully selecting those that are to be sent.

One of the most valuable parts of the Council's work is the publication of the annual "Charities Register and Digest."* This massive volume contains a long introduction, outlining the general means and methods of relief, which is also published separately under the title "How to Help Cases of Distress."* The Register proper is an exhaustive catalogue of all charitable, philanthropic, and provident societies and institutions in London; their aims, resources, and officers. A publication of this kind is of very great use in securing co-operation and preventing overlapping. An effort is now being made to form a strong federation of all the charity organization societies of the Kingdom; and last year a conference of charities was held at Oxford, which

* London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

will probably be continued annually, in support of this object. In addition to all the other printed matter issued by the London society, it publishes *The Charity Organization Review*, which has a distinctive field of its own in the careful discussion of charity and related social topics.

The best possibilities yet gained in the work of any local committee have been reached in the district of Stepney. It is doubtful whether the charities of any similar district in England—including both public and private relief—are administered so strictly according to economic principles as in Stepney. The public relieving officer for this district, Mr. John Jones, has held his position for over twenty years. Through all this time he has been working courageously to reform the abuses of the system. He has kept complete and painstaking accounts of all cases assisted during the last fourteen years. In this way he is able to trace the history of his clients, and to tell at once whether they are worthy of help. Mr. Jones's books have furnished valuable material for the later volumes of Mr. Charles Booth's work on "Labor and Life of the People." This has been especially the case with the striking data these records supply as to the influence of heredity and environment on pauperism. Mr. Jones's leading effort has been to cut

off out-door relief.* This is, of course, one of the main things at which the Charity Organization Society aims. The co-operation between the Stepney branch and Mr. Jones is quite complete. Mr. Jones is a member of the Stepney Charity Organization Society Committee, and Mr. Thomas Hancock Nunn, the honorary secretary of the Charity Organization Society Committee, has recently been elected one of the public guardians of the poor for Stepney.

Mr. Nunn is the second resident at Toynbee Hall in point of seniority. He has been at his present work since 1884, and has succeeded remarkably in developing and applying scientific methods to the problems of voluntary charity. To begin with, thanks to Mr. Jones, he has had the whole field of the out-door relief of the district free of official interference. He has then secured as committee members nearly all the clergymen and ministers of Stepney, and other persons associated with local charities. Different members of the committee from other parts of London—among them several residents of Toynbee Hall—have undertaken to represent for the Stepney dis-

* That is, relief given otherwise than by commitment to a poor-house. The term "poor-house," is in this account applied to the English work-house, to prevent its being confused with the American work-house, an institution for short-sentence criminals.

trict the metropolitan societies which distribute relief there. Some of the latest additions to the committee have been working men who act as representatives of local branches of friendly societies and trades-unions.

A very close system of visitation has been instituted, each visitor taking charge of a certain sub-district. In several cases, clergymen, by the help of their parish workers, relieve the committee of responsibility for all the people in the neighborhood of their churches. A special feature of the Stepney committee's work is a quarterly revision of all cases, in which every person who has applied for aid, whether the aid was granted or not, is again visited, and careful returns made as to any change of conditions since the original application. The members of the committee thus retain, as far as possible, a continued interest in the people who seek their help. The data gained by the double registration are gradually becoming of great use in the practical direction of the committee's work, and are from time to time examined by Mr. Charles Booth's assistants and other students of the problem of pauperism.

There are many who disagree in important points with the methods of the Charity Organization Society. They say it is too cold-blooded in its dealings with poor people, treating them always

according to the letter of a few rigid economic precepts. It is admitted by every one that the Society has done a valuable work in reducing greatly the amount of indiscriminate giving. But it is held that an individual who is suffering should not so often be refused help, even though he has been somewhat careless and thriftless; and especially that one who is in want through another's fault — as, a woman deserted by her husband — ought to be aided even if the aid should somewhat weaken the conscience of other people tempted to commit the same fault; even though help given a deserted wife might make it easier for other husbands to desert their wives. The claim is that, while it may be an excellent rule that people should be relieved for the sake of helping them to get beyond the need of help, and for the sake of reducing the sum total of pauperism; yet one does not have the right to make a weak individual bear the brunt of some social evil, or even in many cases to charge him so largely with responsibility for the failure of his own life. It is acknowledged by some leading charity organizers that economic laws have not been sufficiently tempered with sympathy. The Society has, it is true, put charity upon a higher ethical basis than it had before. Organized charities show that it is selfish merely to give your money or your goods. They insist that

you must give yourself. And yet it seems to be the position of the Charity Organization Society, that the organization of charity is a means adequate to the solution of the problem of pauperism. This compels it to put an undue share of the weight upon the individual in distress. To one who believes that charity is only a partial remedy, and that pauperism is in large part the result of injustice in our social system, of which the poor are innocent victims, the methods of the Society, though carried out with earnestness and self-sacrifice, often seem to have over much of the spirit of paternal discipline, and not enough of the spirit of brotherly kindness.

The charities of London are simply bewildering in number and variety. "The Charities Register" fills 840 pages with a list of them, giving brief descriptions. They include some provision for every ill that afflicts flesh or spirit. It is a constant wonder to see what vast resources are available for charitable use. There cannot be much doubt that there are too many separate institutional charities in London. The editor of Low's "Charities of London"* for 1890, says: "It should, we think, be a source of gratification that no new charitable institutions have started into existence during the past year." He holds that

* London: Sampson Low & Co.

the special need now is that existing institutions should be adequately supported, and should, as far as possible, combine their efforts rather than continue in harmful competition. It would of course be impossible here to enter upon any account of institutional charities. It may be said that in general their plans have come to a practically complete form; they do not therefore take a large place in recent progress. In the case of public poor-houses, here and there a marked improvement has been made in London and other cities; but through the country, as a whole, it is to be feared that many of the poor-houses have not advanced far from the condition they were in when Dickens wrote.

The more general charities and philanthropies of London, especially societies including all of the metropolis, or large sections of it, in their scope, have increased in number and strength of late, and often exhibit valuable unique features in their objects and methods.

There is an important group of associations in the interest of children and young people, which suggest their objects in their names: the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Children's Invalid Aid Society, the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, and best of all, the Children's Country Holiday Fund.

These are all districted, after the plan of the Charity Organization Society. They have also learned much from it as to methods, and in general are closely affiliated to its committees in the separate districts.

The Children's Country Holiday Fund is one of the most satisfactory and successful of all London charities. The number of children sent away each summer is more than twenty thousand. There are four hundred and fifty country centres to which children are sent. Thirty-six local committees meet weekly during the first part of the summer, to make preparations. The Fund is remarkably well organized. There are now very few country holiday enterprises in London which have not attached themselves to it. Even the Jews, since special provision has been made for the food of their children, have united. The condition imposed by the central authority is that no local committee shall be affiliated unless it accept the regulations of the Fund, and engage to work in an approved area.

The members of the committees begin by consulting the teachers of board schools in their districts, as to what pupils most need a change of air—for unfortunately the committees are able to send only nine or ten poor children out of a hundred. This is the best way to begin, as pupils

go to school very young in London, and education is compulsory between the ages of five and thirteen, roughly speaking. After getting a list of names and addresses from the teachers, the visitors call at the children's homes. They find from the parents about the condition of the family, its income, and the health of the children, guarding especially against the danger of infectious disease. For the ones who go away for a fortnight, the whole cost to the committee is about three dollars. They ask the parents to contribute as much of this amount as they can. The parents are, on the whole, quite willing to have their children go to the country, and their offers are very fair, considering their circumstances. One-third of the year's expenditure is covered by the parents' payments.

The children are sent in small groups to cottages, where for a time they enjoy the real country home life. It is easy to see how much better this is than to send them to large institutions, or into camps. The woman who receives a party into her house is called a "foster mother." As far as possible, arrangements are made not only for their general care, but for teaching them something of nature and for directing their pleasures. One would perhaps think that little slum urchins would feel some of the original joys of Eden when they come into the fields and woods. It is often quite

otherwise. A most pathetic thing, and a doubly strong argument for the Country Holiday Fund, is that some children from the alleys are able to feel no touch of kinship between themselves and their Mother Nature when they come into her very presence. That children left to such an inhuman existence should ever grow up into good citizens is simply inconceivable.

The importance of taking poor city children for a sight of the country —and of training them to love the country —is not then merely a matter of compassion for little people deprived of rural pleasures, but a matter that deeply concerns the health and character of coming generations of working people. It is beginning to be seen that even the school is a hurtful influence when children have little pure air and no healthful recreation. And of course nearly every other circumstance of a tenement-house child is against him. Whatever remedial influences may be introduced, the children must still be given some of the physical strength and moral exhilaration that come alone from nature and rural life. This is so strongly felt in London that large numbers of excursions are arranged by churches, schools, and individuals, both for the children and for older people. A favorite way is for the leaders of such a party to secure the hospitality of the owner of a

country house and grounds somewhere near London. In such excursions, as well as in the longer holiday under the Fund, it is held to be very important that the visitors should be received as guests, and thus experience some of the pleasures of social life.

Within the bounds of London, an active campaign is being carried on for the increase of parks and open spaces. It is already a redeeming feature of the East End that one never goes far without seeing little green spaces. The County Council is very active in this matter, and has greatly improved Victoria Park, the only park in the East of London. The Metropolitan Public Gardens Association has secured, in one way and another, many pieces of ground in different parts of London, which it has beautified and opened to public use. In some of the most crowded districts of the East End there are large churchyards. The Gardens Association holds that the living count for more than the dead in such cases; and, by persistence, it is gradually getting the churchyards changed into places where those who are still in the struggle may find a little rest. The County Council and some voluntary societies are preparing playing fields within the parks or in the near suburbs, of which athletic clubs will have the use for their out-door sports.

A great deal of attention has been given to sanitary reform in London of late. The Mansion House Council on the Dwellings of the People, which was established in 1884, has been gaining strength, until it has now thirty-three branch committees in different metropolitan districts. In this case, however, the central body is relatively more important than in the case of the other districted charities. The Council has accomplished much in the way of discovering and explaining deficiencies in the sanitary laws and in their enforcement. As yet, official sanitary inspectors are far too few. The laws defining their duties are too lax, allowing careless officers an excuse for neglect of their duty. There are also many needless technicalities which hinder bringing offending landlords to justice. A great advance was made last year in the passage by Parliament of the consolidated and amended Housing of the Working Classes Act. This Act puts into the hands of county councils a large discretionary power to co-operate with district authorities, or to take direct action in case these authorities fail, in doing away with unhealthful conditions, even to the extent of replacing insanitary buildings. The Mansion House Council has been instrumental in bringing before the public a knowledge of the state of things. The present

plan of the London County Council for large model tenements in the condemned area in Bethnal Green may be traced back to a government inquiry into the conditions existing in that locality, undertaken at the instance of the Mansion House Council.

In a number of other parts of London, investigations have been made and full reports published, both for the sake of bringing about improved legislation and of securing a better enforcement of the present laws. The Council is striving to arouse the different districts with regard to elections for the parish boards which have control of sanitary matters. By this means good men are being secured for such offices. As a direct result, it is beginning to be insisted that inspectors must not only be active in the enforcement of the law, but must have technical training in sanitary science.

The Council is just beginning to supply lectures for public meetings and working men's clubs. It has been successful in securing the active assistance of a number of working men's clubs. In a few cases, clubs have organized district committees of the Council. In these and other ways, those most closely affected in the matter are learning to take care of their own best interests. The main use of all the local branches is to give the

people themselves a free opportunity to express their grievances without fear of bringing down the vengeance of agent or landlord. All cases of complaint are at once investigated either by a committee member, or by one of the Council's inspectors; and summary action is taken if there prove to be valid grounds for complaint.

Organizations similar to the Mansion House Council exist in Glasgow, Manchester, Bristol, Sheffield, and other towns. In Salford, which adjoins Manchester, it is likely that the municipal authorities will demolish an insanitary tract of buildings, and put up model dwellings in their place. In Glasgow, much work of this kind remains to be done, beyond what has already been accomplished. In Manchester, though certain parts are extremely insanitary, the difficulty is not so much with the buildings as in the lack of means for the disposal of sewage matter. Birmingham, after twenty years of experiment, is now happily free from any difficult problem of sanitation.

While so active efforts are being made to provide for the public health in crowded districts, the needs of the individual sick and injured among the poor are receiving more and more attention. Beside the hospitals themselves, this is especially seen in two ways. The ambulance system is very effective. There are so many classes everywhere

in "first aid to the injured" that it would almost seem as if the public were being organized into an ambulance brigade. The chief of police of London has recently determined to compel every policeman to take such a course of instruction. Much more important, however, is the large increase of trained women nurses, some of whom go to service in the hospitals, while the rest visit the sick poor at their homes.

The course of training for a nurse continues for a period varying from six months to three years. One who remains in training for only six months is assigned to district work; one who remains in training for three years is fully certificated for hospital service. In all cases a period of probation has to be gone through at the beginning of the course, and one who does not seem fitted for the duties of a nurse is not allowed to proceed further. In the course of training, the young candidate learns that her future work is to be no easy task. She finds that not much time can be allowed for leisure. The greatest care and watchfulness has to be continually exercised. Many are the demands upon patience and humility.

The hospital system of London is, of course, a very admirable one. It may be said in general that the most skilful care is as much at the dis-

posal of the sick poor as of wealthy valetudinarians. The number and size of the hospitals, and their openness to all who are in need, make the demand for trained nurses very large. Moreover, some of the poor-house infirmaries in London have a full staff of trained nurses.

The district nurses are as numerous as the hospital nurses. Their work is more varied and in many cases more arduous than that of the hospital nurses. Each nurse is assigned by a nursing society to a certain comparatively small district. Her duties are, to visit all the sick among the poor people, to bring them nourishing food and the little dainties which often soften the lot of an invalid so much, and in every possible way to add to the comfort and cheer of those who are in bodily trouble. The district nurses are supported entirely by the general nursing societies, but in all cases the churches of the district, and philanthropic individuals, are looked to for such contributions as seem rightly due from them.

The societies thus work on the noble principle, "To each according to his need; from each according to his power." The same spirit pervades the nurses as a body. Some of them are ladies born; some have been household servants. There has been objection raised to the admission of the servant class, but the immediate reply has been

that if those who have been servants are able to stand the tests for admission to and continuance in the work of nursing, their knowledge of what it means to minister to others may make them even better nurses than those who have always been their own mistresses.

The nobility of the nurses' work is felt by the people among whom they go, apart from those whom they immediately assist. There is a softer tone in the voice of the rough dock laborer as he speaks of the "sisters," referring to the nurses. It is not unusual to see a crowd of working people, who just before have been pushing and struggling to get into some public place, separate and make an opening for two or three nurses to go in.

One of the rarest of all charities is that of the Kyrle Society.* Here is something well done without much reliance upon organization. The field of the Society is so largely its own that it simply follows out its mission, quite secure from fear of sowing where another has sown already. It never needs to question whether its gifts may not possibly make the poor poorer; its mercy is always twice blest. The Kyrle Society tries to

* The name of the Kyrle Society was suggested by Pope's lines eulogizing John Kyrle, the Man of Ross, "who with a small estate passed his long life in contriving and advancing plans of public utility."—Moral Essays, Epistle III.

bring brightness and beauty into the dreary life of the working people.

The Society was formed in 1877, under the auspices of Miss Octavia Hill, who had already done so much to improve tenement-house homes. The formation of the Society was the result of that increasing feeling among the best English people, that a nation cannot be advancing as long as a large share of its citizens know only the scenes of ugliness and squalor. Its promoters—some of the leading artists being included among them—did not indeed hold that "bringing beauty home to the people" would meet the most important need of the people. But they saw in its lack the absence of all the common consolations to which every healthy moral life owes so much. They realized how dull, narrow, and monotonous is the existence of the majority of dwellers in cities, from whom nearly everything that has the elements of color, expansion, and harmony is shut out.*

It is often thought that the ministry of beauty to the poor is a merely sentimental thing. No mistake could be greater. The reason for the mistake is that people who are not poor breathe in this refining influence as plentifully as they breathe the atmosphere, without thinking how

* See an article by Miss Octavia Hill in *The Nineteenth Century*, May, 1884.

necessary it is for the renewing of the better nature. Suppose you had never run in a green field, or walked down a shady lane. Suppose you had never looked over a broad landscape, had never seen the open sky—never really seen a sunset—never heard the distant murmur of the wind among the trees. No flowers, no brooks, no birds; save the mere change of temperature, no springtime. Suppose music and pictures were gone; or rather had never come—for we are supposing all these things banished not only from present experience, but out of all your memory and out of all the subconscious influences of your life. Such an awful gloom is the common inheritance of the poor in great cities. If one could imagine the moral element being developed under such circumstances, how could it be sustained, how could it find expression? The truth is, that present social conditions are bringing the finer feelings of vast numbers of men and women to a state of atrophy, with the result that part of them become literally "as dumb, driven cattle," while the rest are transformed into wild beasts. The ministry of beauty, then, is not a merely sentimental thing; it is an essential of social salvation.

The plan of the Kyrle Society proved so attractive that it soon gained a following in London, and allied societies were before long estab-

lished in eight other cities. The parent Society's work is subdivided among the decorative branch, the open spaces branch, the musical branch, and the literature distribution branch. The walls of working men's clubs, mission halls, and hospital wards are ornamented with mural paintings designed and executed by members and friends of the Society. Pictures, mottoes, and other adornments are furnished. A stock of flags and temporary decorations is kept ready to be lent for special occasions at schools and clubs. In the year 1889, mural paintings were completed upon the walls of ten different rooms in various parts of London. In one large hall, the ornamentation consisted of fifteen single figures and five large groups, adapted chiefly from paintings in Italian churches. About ten members and helpers were occupied through two years in its production. Also during 1889, seven rooms were beautified with framed paintings, drawings, prints, and photographs.

The largest part of the Society's work is the effort to increase and beautify parks and open spaces. A number of small pieces of ground are already under the care of the Society, or have been laid out under its direction previously to passing into public control. Recently, a large estate in South London has been secured. It is called Vauxhall Park. There are to be playing

fields, summer houses, a band-stand, and a gymnasium. The old mansion of the estate has been retained, and will be a social centre for the working people of the district. Efforts have been made by the Kyrle Society, in connection with the Public Gardens Association, to secure some pieces of hilly land which were about to be built over. But the owners, seeing their chance, demanded a much larger price than the land was worth. The London County Council has been asked to assist in securing these places for public use. The Kyrle Society has been instrumental in having several old burying grounds opened up and suitably laid out. It is endeavoring to secure the legal prevention of building on burying grounds, especially in order that they may be used as open spaces, but also urging the danger to the health of persons who should occupy houses so situated. It has joined actively with other societies in endeavoring to prevent local authorities from building upon land that is now open for public enjoyment. Connected with this branch of the Society's work is a committee for the distribution of flowers. Flowers and plants are sent to many girls' clubs and homes, to hospitals and poor-houses. Plants and shrubs are supplied for open spaces, and sometimes for little gardens which working men have of their own.

The Kyrle Choir gives oratorios through the winter in churches and halls in poor districts. Among those rendered are, The Creation, Samson, Elijah, The Messiah, and St. Paul. The applications for performances are so numerous that it is hoped a second choir may be established in the South or East of London. The difficulty is, that the funds at the Society's command for this branch, as well as the others, are already quite inadequate. But some enlargement has been made by inducing other choral societies to co-operate with the Kyrle singers, or to act independently, in giving performances. Beside the oratorios, miscellaneous concerts, consisting of vocal and instrumental music, and readings, are given. These take place in schools and small halls, sometimes in the most degraded spots in London. Here again the Society has found that its field could be indefinitely enlarged if the means and the helpers were only forthcoming. The musical branch tries in all possible ways to be of use where musical help is needed. Some of its members undertake to teach vocal or instrumental classes. Some unite to furnish dance music for evenings of social recreation. Efforts have been made, through the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, to help the clubs to raise the standard of their entertainments. In one recent case a

dramatic entertainment was given by the Society for the benefit of a working men's provident club. For the past five seasons, bands have been provided to play in public gardens. The effort now is to get suitable band-stands erected. When this is done, the Society has received the assurance of several bands of the Volunteers that they will give their services, simply holding their weekly meetings in the open air during the summer, instead of in their usual rooms. In 1889 the Kyrle Society rendered seventeen oratorios, gave twenty-two miscellaneous concerts, supplied twelve band concerts in public gardens, beside furnishing numerous entertainments to poor-houses, infirmaries, and hospitals. In the same year, the branch of the Society devoted to the distribution of literature, sent out 1,417 books and 5,980 magazines to working men's clubs and charitable institutions.

The Birmingham Kyrle Society, beside features similar to those of the London Society, has a large building in a poor quarter, which is the centre of varied activities, including a boys' club, a guild of handicraft, and numerous musical and dramatic entertainments. In a cottage near by, a club for girls is carried on. The girls learn the affairs of housekeeping, and also acquire delicate skill at needle-work, fancy rug-making, basket work, and embroidering. A great impetus was

given recently both to the girls' club and to the guild of handicrafft, by the holding of a Home Arts Exhibition at Birmingham. The plan of such exhibitions, which are directed by a central society in London, is to develop some of the simpler lines of skill in work which can easily be done by persons at odd times in their own homes.

In Edinburgh and Glasgow, successful efforts have been made to combine the various kinds of social work that are being carried on. Each city has its Social Union. The Edinburgh Social Union does much toward improvement of tenement-house conditions. It maintains classes in art and handicraft. Some members of the Social Union are recovering the old historic houses of Edinburgh, now in the most crowded and thickly built quarters, and are refitting and decorating them. Two of these houses are the University Halls, whose residents form groups similar to the university settlements. The Glasgow Social Union is made up of six societies, of which the Kyrle Society is the leading one. Among other things, the Glasgow Social Union has entered actively into the movement for improved dwellings and better sanitary conditions. A scheme for health lectures is to be carried out, by which courses will be given in the working-class districts of the city.

Some valuable lines of social activity are fol-

lowed in different cities, taking a unique character from special needs, or more often from the original ideas of some person or group of persons. In 1875 there was organized in Birmingham the Ladies' Association for Useful Work. The object of the Association at the beginning was to instruct the women of the poorer classes in hygienic and domestic matters. Every year several courses of health lectures have been given in the different parts of the city by members of the Association, among whom Mrs. R. W. Dale, now its president, has been prominent from the beginning. The results of these lectures through fifteen years can hardly be overestimated. No doubt the low death rate of Birmingham may be traced partly to the increasing knowledge of the laws of health brought about among the poor in this way. All grades and types of working women have been from time to time included, as it has been part of the plan to hold the lectures in connection with churches, mission halls, day-schools, Sunday-schools, and factories, in addition to the more general meetings arranged for directly by the Association. The lectures have been from first to last largely attended and heartily appreciated. The Association also manages a club and dining-room for working girls, supports a children's country holiday fund, and arranges for holding local

examinations in university subjects. A University Extension centre is about to be established by the Association.

A very interesting effort toward social improvement has been carried on for nine years in the Ancoats district of Manchester by Mr. Charles Rowley, of the Manchester City Council. First under the name of the Ancoats Recreation Committee, but for the last three years under the auspices of a large organization of working men called the Ancoats Brotherhood, Mr. Rowley has conducted in this dark, depressing neighborhood his mission of refreshment and inspiration. The special feature has been an annual series of lectures and addresses held on Sunday afternoons. These lectures have been on the greatest variety of subjects, and the list of lecturers has included many well-known men. For a half-hour before and after each lecture, a concert is given, the music being provided each time by a group of friends from the city. Often the best musicians in Manchester appear before the Brotherhood, and some of them prefer the Ancoats audience, for its warmth of appreciation, to the more critical one they face at the Town Hall. Every month an "At Home" is held, on a week-day evening. At these meetings there are dancing and songs in the large room of the

hall which is rented by the Brotherhood; pictures, books, and games, in a small room; refreshments during the evening, and "beef tea at 11." Occasionally on Sunday evenings a reception is given for the members of the Brotherhood to meet the lecturer of the afternoon. Every winter, two or more courses of University Extension lectures are provided under the direction of the Brotherhood; and meetings for the discussion of political and social questions are quite frequent. There is a book-stall in the meeting-room. From week to week the programmes of the concerts contain lists of carefully selected books that are on sale at a reduced price. The programmes are an educational influence in themselves. They always have a number of quotations of rare appropriateness and beauty, which seem like a breath from a better world. In summer there is a series of rambles, usually for a day, but sometimes to places at a distance. Through Mr. Rowley's encouragement and assistance a number of the members of the Brotherhood attend the annual University Extension Summer Meeting at Oxford.

There is an admirable Free Art Museum in Ancoats, in addition to the very fine municipal gallery in the centre of Manchester. This Art Museum is made up almost entirely of prints and casts; but in this way the best art of the world is brought

to the service of the poor. Under each picture or cast is an explanation designed to help toward an intelligent appreciation of it. The characteristics of different schools of painters are indicated. Groups of pictures are put together to illustrate the various stages and processes of engraving, the different artistic treatments of similar subjects, successions of events of historic interest. In one case a striking illustration is given of what good pictures working people may have in their own homes. Beside a fine water-color copy of one of Turner's landscapes is placed a chromo-lithograph copy; and the chromo-lithograph is a close approach to the beauty of the water-color. Incidentally, Turner's extreme impressionism is graphically shown by putting beside these a photograph of the scene from which the artist took his sketch. As far as possible, copies of all paintings of scenery within easy reach of Manchester are secured, and the people are then encouraged and assisted to study how a landscape is artistically reproduced. Of late, classes in drawing, handicraft, and music, have been begun at the Museum, together with some general entertainments. The Museum is, and continues to be, the result of the efforts of Mr. Rowley and some other men of like spirit.

Aside from the kinds of social work actuated

more directly and obviously by the feeling of humanity, there is a constantly widening field of experiment, which aims at improving gradually the economic conditions which hem in the lives of working people. Any plan to supply them as a class with suitable dwellings, with wholesome food and drink, to reduce the time and improve the circumstances of their labor, to free them from the wages system to a greater or less extent,—is not to be accomplished by the giving of charity, but proves the feasibility of its being generally adopted only when it brings in a fair return on the amount invested. There must be at first, however, a special expenditure of personal interest and care, such as would not be necessary after a plan had become well understood and generally applied. The use of capital in that way is one of the best forms of philanthropy.

A very great impetus to all such efforts has been given by the investigations of Mr. Charles Booth, himself a wealthy merchant and ship-owner. Mr. Booth began his study of the "Labor and Life of the People"* by taking a lodging in one of the poorest parts of the East End, and making close personal observations. He then attached to himself a number of young economists who are fast becoming

* Mr. Booth's book is published in London by Williams & Norgate; in New York by Charles Scribner's Sons.

specialists in their respective lines. Besides these, who appear as collaborators in Volume I., on East London, there are five or six clerks constantly employed by Mr. Booth, whose duties are to collect and tabulate statistics, and assist in preparing the poverty maps. Volume II. treats of the remaining divisions of London, and an accompanying volume contains the maps showing the poverty of those divisions. There will probably be one or two further volumes on London. At last accounts, Mr. Booth was in a lodging in Liverpool, at an address unknown to his friends, making preliminary observations for a full study of the poverty of Liverpool. As Professor Marshall recently said, speaking of Mr. Booth, it is very rare to find a man combining the means, the inclination, and the ability, to do so valuable a work.

The first society for improving the dwellings of the poor of London * was formed by Lord Shaftesbury in 1844. There are now at least eight large companies, in addition to the Peabody Fund, which own and manage buildings containing model

* What is said on this subject, both as to the buildings and as to the care of the tenants, is in large part taken from a valuable report to the Presbytery of Glasgow on "The Housing of the Poor in London," by William Smart, M.A., Lecturer on Political Economy in the University of Glasgow. The report was printed for the Presbytery, but unfortunately not more widely published.

tenements for people of the working class. These buildings are usually four or more stories high, and each has accommodation for a large number of families. The income from the buildings ranges from two and a half to five per cent. Some of the companies disclaim any philanthropic purpose, though even they have their dividends limited to five per cent. The rents charged are from thirty-seven cents per week for a single room, up to as high as $2.50 or $2.75 per week, for a tenement of five rooms.

There has gradually come a marked improvement in the arrangements for health, privacy, and safety, in the large model dwellings. In nearly all cases, tenants are carefully selected so as to keep up the respectability of the settlement. In no case is liquor allowed to be sold on the premises. With tenants of the better class it is found that the companies which are organized on a commercial basis have little difficulty in securing their four or five per cent. return. The old style of building was like that of a great barracks. Of late, there has been a return in some cases to the cottage form of house, but this plan has been followed mainly in the suburbs where land is cheaper. The large buildings recently erected in crowded districts have, however, been carefully designed for their architectural effect, and some of them would

in their appearance do credit to any part of London. This is true of the College Buildings, which stand next to Toynbee Hall, and were designed by the architect of Toynbee Hall.

About the finest model dwellings yet erected in London are the new Brady Street Dwellings, the property of the National Four Per Cent. Investment Company. This is a Jewish company, which borrowed its money from the Rothschilds. There are two large buildings containing three- and four-room tenements, and two small buildings of single rooms. There are careful restrictions against overcrowding. Privacy is secured by making each of the larger tenements self-sufficient. The population is about 1,200. An effort is made to cultivate a sort of village life. There are large open spaces where the children may play. At the head of the main avenue is a little green arcade with seats. At both entrances, there are great iron gates which help to set the buildings off in a community by themselves. Lady Rothschild has presented a very beautiful little club house for the use of the tenants, with a good library, and club rooms for men and for women.

It is found, however, that only a beginning has been made with the poor when they have been installed in the model dwellings. They need constant help in their home life, as well as in their re-

lations with their neighbors. This difficulty was especially felt when efforts were made to supply quarters for the great class of dwellers in a single room. These people are so thriftless and destructive that it was long thought impossible for a commercial company to provide for them. But there are recent buildings accommodating this class, which give a return of between four and five per cent. The success of these buildings, however, would probably have been impossible but for Miss Octavia Hill's system of lady rent-collectors; while to all the better class tenement-houses her system has proved to be of great value.

This work of Miss Hill's began in 1864, when Ruskin bought the buildings in two courts, and gave them to her to manage. In its first stages, ladies volunteered their services, but Miss Hill was so anxious that the plan should be applicable under all circumstances, that she insisted that there must always be a commission of five per cent. reserved for the collector. For herself, Miss Hill has taken up the problem of the lower grades of working people, who live in older buildings. She purchases the buildings, and for a beginning abolishes only the worst evils, such as living in cellars; and even that reform she accomplishes through influence rather than through force. She also sees that the sanitary conditions are right. But, after that, she

relies upon returns from the rents for supporting yearly improvements. In this way she is able to tell the tenants that the more careful they are, the better house they will have to live in. After a time the tenants become sufficiently improved to enjoy a better house. Miss Hill then puts up a new building for them. The largest growth of the system has come from taking entire charge of blocks of buildings owned by individuals and companies. Miss Hill assumes the responsibility of paying the proprietors their four or five per cent. interest, and then takes the management of the premises. She is said to have under her control about $1,250,000 worth of property.

This new kind of rent-collector, though she must still have a degree of authority, has robbed the title of many of its terrors. She acts as a general civilizing influence among her tenants. Often she makes her home among them. In one group of buildings under Miss Hill's charge, there is a working men's club, classes and clubs for the children, and a fund for country holidays. Adjoining the buildings, there is a public garden, where the children play, and where band concerts are held in summer. There is also, near by, a hall in which a free library, a gymnasium, and occasional entertainments are provided.

Miss Emma Cons, a friend of Miss Hill, man-

ages a group of very beautifully designed buildings, erected by a company which she herself organized. She has great success in educating her people into becoming good tenants. Her buildings are probably on the best model of all in London. Wherever it is possible, she advises with the tenants, explaining to them the reasons for rules that have to be made. Miss Cons uses part of the reserve, after the interest has been paid, in a variety of ways for forwarding social life in the dwellings. It is Miss Cons who conducts the Royal Victoria Music Hall—the "Old Vic" of "Alton Locke"—not far from these dwellings, in which she aims to furnish to the people of South London amusement similar to that sought at the music halls, without any of the objectionable features of the performances there presented. She has recently been instrumental in the establishment of Morley Memorial College for working men, which has a finely equipped building next to the Royal Victoria Music Hall.

There are a few model lodging-houses in London. Glasgow, however, is the place which has gone ahead in that respect, with its municipal lodging-houses. Its few municipal tenement-houses will probably be added to. In Birmingham, the corporation is erecting cottage dwellings for working people. No doubt the great work of

the London County Council in the way of erecting dwellings in Bethnal Green will open a new era in the housing of the working class. What has already been done under private enterprise in London has been the means, beside the accomplishment of its main object, of changing completely the character of a number of districts which were formerly among the worst in the metropolis. It is to be hoped that public action will in a similar way break up and scatter the nests of vice and crime that remain. It has long been the desire of Mr. Barnett to buy out and demolish the whole region of buildings in Whitechapel which have become a source of disgrace to London and to the civilized world. After a great deal of troublesome investigation it was discovered that this tract belonged to two wealthy residents of the West End having some apparent standing in respectable society. A company was organized and a fair offer made; but the owners named a prohibitive price, giving as a pretext that they were holding the property for a rise in value. As things are going now in the London County Council, it may not be long till these gentlemen shall find themselves cut off from their infernal revenue.

English coffee-houses are by this time a thoroughly established success. The Lockhart

Cocoa Rooms in London, Glasgow, Manchester, and some other towns, have proved a good commercial enterprise. In Liverpool and Birmingham, and even in many small places, local companies have been organized. One company in Liverpool has sixty coffee-houses. In Birmingham there are altogether about a hundred. The most unique form of café for the masses is seen in the Tee-to-tums, recently opened in different parts of East London by Mr. P. R. Buchanan, of the Oxford House. These are a combination of coffee-house and club. The one first opened has a counter where tea imported by Mr. Buchanan's company is sold by the pound. Then there is a refreshment counter, where a large variety of good food and temperance drinks is to be had at very cheap rates. The second floor is reserved for the men's club, which is formed from the patrons of the Tee-to-tum. The club members have a reading-room, a room for meetings and discussions, and rooms for billiards, bagatelle, and other games. The second establishment opened includes a club for girls and women. In the most recent one there are, in addition to what the others have, a gymnasium, baths, and a large hall for concerts, dramatics, and dancing. In each case, a capable lady is in charge, and residents of the Oxford House and Toynbee Hall as-

sist in managing the clubs. All the surroundings are made as tasteful and attractive as possible. There is usually music in the evening. The cafés have been largely patronized thus far, and Mr. Buchanan is confident that they will continue to pay for themselves.

There is a growing disposition on the part of employers of labor to consider the interests of their employees. This is especially shown in the recent marked increase of profit-sharing. Mr. David F. Schloss, who is authority on this subject, reported at the beginning of 1891 that there were in the British Empire fifty-four cases—all but two or three being in England and Scotland—of genuine profit-sharing; that is, profit-sharing in which a definite proportion of the profits is promised to the employees beforehand. Of these firms, more than twenty began the system in 1890. Some firms give the whole of the bonus in cash; some give part in cash and part in membership of a provident fund; while a few put the whole of the bonus to the provident fund. The number of English firms which follow the less valuable plan of giving their employees a share of the profits without promising a definite proportion would be found to be quite large. One great hindrance to the growth of the system is that working men fear it means to bribe them from loyalty to their trade

unions; for usually, under profit-sharing, if a man should strike he would be in danger of losing not only his daily wages, but his share of the profits to be distributed at some later time. But there are not many employers who would take up profit-sharing with such a purpose. Some encourage the unions. A while ago the employees of the Tangyes, the Birmingham engine-builders, one of the oldest profit-sharing firms, were considering the advisability of joining the Knights of Labor, who have established a few branches in England. The members of the firm asked the nature of the new organization; and when they had been fully informed, endorsed it and offered their assistance.

In many smaller ways the employing class and other well-to-do people are making efforts toward bettering the conditions under which labor is carried on. They have in a number of cases furnished capital and given business direction to productive co-operative societies. There are several co-operative societies of working women in London who have been helped in this way. The Consumers' League puts out a "white list" of London employers who are known to treat their working people fairly. With the development of a better conscience in this matter, it has become not unusual for dealers to advertise that their workshops are open to public inspection.

Other indications of the same general tendency are, the Shop Hours Regulation Act, to limit the time per day during which young persons may be kept at work in stores, and the well-nigh universal custom in all the larger cities of a Saturday half-holiday the year round. Both of these reforms are the result, in the main, of agitations led by good-hearted business men.

VII

MORAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

BEARINGS OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS UPON SPECIFIC MORAL CAUSES.—LIQUOR PROBLEM.—LEADING TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR WORK.—COFFEE-HOUSES.—PRISON SYSTEM.—THE HOWARD ASSOCIATION. — CRIME, GAMBLING, PROSTITUTION. — CHILD-SAVING INSTITUTIONS. — DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES. — ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. — INCREASE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION. — REGENT STREET POLYTECHNIC. — PEOPLE'S PALACE. — EVENING SCHOOLS. — DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION. — RELATIONS EXISTING BETWEEN EDUCATION AND THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. — HOW THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ARE MAKING FOR A NOBLER NATIONAL LIFE.

OF the intimate relation between social movements and the tendencies of a people in the direction of morality and intelligence, there can of course be no question. It is not yet fully known how largely intemperance and crime are the effects of poverty; but there is an increasing belief that they are at least as much its effects as they are its causes. No small part of the vast mass of pauperism, which is a recruiting ground for

every form of immorality, is involuntary pauperism, and under right economic conditions, would pass away. A good share of the remainder is an inheritance from previous generations of enforced or encouraged idleness. As to the evils which flourish in the upper ranges of society, it cannot be denied that they are to a large extent the fault of a system which sends to many persons such a harmful surplus of means and leisure. In this point of view, the present tendencies in England in the way of supplying a healthful occupation of body and mind to all, under just conditions, ought to be considered as working strongly toward a higher standard of life. The more direct efforts to dissipate ignorance and crime would be of little account if it were not for the steady reinforcement that comes from influences greater than they.

There is among workers for these special causes an increasing feeling of the interdependence and essential sympathy of their lines of activity with the movements of labor and charity. They have to recognize, for instance, the marked effect which the temperate lives of the leaders of the New Unionism have upon the rank and file. The more general social workers, for their part, can never go far without being compelled to take explicit action in support of morals and education. It is par-

ticularly noticeable that persons engaging in philanthropic effort almost inevitably become more simple and frugal in their own way of living. The result of the mutual understanding is that new light is being shed upon problems of public morality. An exaggerated form of a social disease is easier to diagnose and more readily calls out a strong healing force to meet it, than evils which present themselves merely as the transgressions of individuals. We shall, of course, not get past the need of dealing with individual sinners; but such work must always be slight, and often quite hopeless, if there happen to be some distorted economic force acting with all its inherent energy to oppress better aspirations from within and to counteract good influences from without.

The problem of intemperance is quite different in England from what it is in America. In England, a large proportion of people take some kind of liquor moderately and regularly with their food. This weakens the power of the public bar, and lowers it in the scale of respectability; while decreasing the likelihood that if a man take any liquor, he will be led to take too much. There is at once more justification for alcoholic drinks, and less chance of disastrous results, under the conditions of English life than in America, where the climate

and the haste of business are already over-stimulating. The working people of England drink beer, for the most part, which is of course vastly less hurtful than such poison as the poor get under the name of whiskey. The amount of intoxication in the East End of London is not nearly as great as one would expect. The effect of the beer drunk is rather gradually to benumb and brutalize the better natures of those that take it.

The English public-house, like the American saloon, is almost wholly bad, and will have to be either radically changed, or abolished altogether. In respect of having bar-maids and women patrons, the public-house is much worse than the saloon. As it now is, the public-house makes practically no contribution to social life; it withholds, as far as possible, every attraction which would in the least tend to lessen the mad fascination of the drink and of the crime that so often follows. The men and women employed in public houses, aside from the moral debasement of their occupation, are held under a shameful sweating system. The manufacturers of liquor, and the wholesale dealers, are a much better class in England than in America. But even in England they are a dangerous power in the State. The breweries are consolidating their capital from year to year and stoutly resisting efforts to limit their

traffic.* A large proportion of the public-houses are owned by the brewers. But the public-houses are not any such powerful centres of political corruption as the American saloons are.

Mistakes are often made in the discussion of statistics with regard to the consumption of liquors in England. Variations in the drink bill are many times to be explained by special temporary conditions. Thus during the years 1889 and 1890 the drink bill increased on account of the revival of commerce. In 1876, a very prosperous year, the average expenditure per person for intoxicating drinks was $22.25 —the corresponding amount for 1890 having been $18.50. Taking a period of twenty years, the consumption of liquors per person has fallen in a proportion varying from one-tenth to one-fifth. The liquor traffic clearly fails to keep up with the steady progress of the country in numbers, prosperity, and improved social conditions. For one thing, as the result of an improved public sentiment, much less wine is taken at the tables of the well-to-do than there used to be.

There are three leading organizations for the

* Licenses to sell beer and spirits to be consumed on the premises cost from $20 to $300. Public-houses are required to close in London at 12.30 A.M., in the country at 11 P.M. On Sundays they are open from 1 P.M.

promotion of temperance —the National Temperance League, the United Kingdom Alliance, and the Church of England Temperance Society. The National League has for its aim to support the cause of total abstinence by education and moral influence. It publishes a large amount of valuable temperance literature, and endeavors to introduce the study of temperance among teachers and pupils in the board schools. Missions to the army and navy are carried on. The League acts as a kind of centre for all British temperance societies. It issues a valuable annual, giving full accounts of the advance of temperance. A special feature of the League is a branch called the Medical Temperance Association, which includes many physicians throughout England, and has for its president Dr. B. W. Richardson, one of the highest medical authorities in the country. Dr. Richardson is very active in the cause of temperance as well as in seeking to improve the health and sanitary surroundings of the poorer classes. His work shows how useful a skilled physician may be in connecting himself with lines of social progress. Dr. Richardson is the author of a "Temperance Lesson Book," which has been of great service in the schools.

The United Kingdom Alliance strives for the ultimate overthrow of the liquor interest through

local option. The Alliance has long been urging before Parliament, through its president, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, the passage of a law which should take the power of granting licenses away from the local magistrates and give it directly to the people of the district. The magistrates, who have both administrative and judicial functions, are arbitrarily appointed, and on many matters do not represent popular feeling at all. It is merely a question of time till the Liberals shall remove this abuse, and it is not unlikely that the change may introduce a plan including local option. Under the Conservative government, it has been very difficult to get temperance measures introduced before Parliament. But the Alliance, through its members and agents, keeps close watch upon parliamentary elections, and as far as possible has it clearly understood just what attitude the candidates are prepared to take upon temperance questions. During the spring of 1891, local option legislation was pushed farther along in the parliamentary process than at any time before.

One of the critical mistakes of Lord Salisbury's administration was the measure introduced in the early summer of 1890 for compensating keepers of public-houses whose business was brought to an end through a change in the system of licensing. The strength of the temperance sentiment of the

country was well shown in the general disapproval of this proposition. The episode exhibited the political influence of the English people between elections. The papers published columns of condemnatory communications. Meetings were held everywhere. There was a great "No Compensation" parade in London, with a mass meeting in Hyde Park. The result was that the government had to withdraw the bill. This agitation added much strength to the cause of the United Kingdom Alliance. The Alliance is beginning to appreciate the increase of support which temperance is receiving from all who are dealing practically with the problems of poverty, and has been issuing a series of pamphlets showing how the drink question is related to various lines of social work.

The Church of England Temperance Society supports total abstinence in its main action, but it receives as members moderate drinkers who are willing to help in promoting the cause of temperance. The Society wished, if possible, to have a branch in every parish, but soon found that it could not make much headway without allowing the wide basis of union. With this platform, the Society received the endorsement of all the Church authorities; diocesan councils were formed; and by this time there are nearly 4,000 parochial branches, with 700,000 members. This Society goes

far toward organizing the direct temperance work of the Church of England. Occasionally it makes arrangements to have a temperance Sunday observed throughout a diocese. On a single Sunday as many as 340 sermons have been preached in London in support of temperance. A successful police court mission is carried on, and there are throughout England more than twenty missionaries whose duty is to care for prisoners brought down through drink. Special efforts are made to help soldiers, sailors, railway men, and cabmen. Shelters are erected at the cab stands, in order that "cabby" need not be bounden to the publican for his dangerous hospitality. The Society urges certain political measures upon the attention of Parliament, its object being to secure "a system of popular local control for regulating the number, hours, and character of public houses." A women's branch carries on an important and necessary work among inebriate women. A very good system of temperance education is also being developed by the Society.

All religious bodies in England have their young people's temperance societies, including the Roman Catholic Leagues of the Cross, with about 20,000 members. It is calculated that there is in the United Kingdom a total of 16,724 such societies, having a membership of almost 2,000,000.

The most prominent of these organizations are the Bands of Hope. There were estimated to be in 1890, 10,000 Bands of Hope, with over 1,300,000 members. There is a central organization in London. Cities and districts have their smaller unions. The central committee, beside doing all the publishing, sends out lecturers to address the local bands, as well as to give instruction in schools and charitable institutions. The district unions in some cases support temperance workers. The local bands have weekly meetings, which are partly recreative and partly educational; and, by combining together, undertake different forms of temperance work in their own neighborhoods. It seems not too much to expect that there will be a clearly perceptible gain toward sobriety in the whole of the rising generation, resulting from this remarkable activity among the young people of the churches.

An important influence toward temperance is the fact that several of the leading working men's friendly societies are on a basis of total abstinence. In these associations for providence and insurance, working men can learn beyond question that temperance has an actual objective value. The former practice of having trade unions meet at public-houses is now rapidly passing away. It is more and more the feeling among working men

that it is a disgrace to labor to have its interests connected with these places. The plan of compelling working men to receive their wages in public houses has not wholly ceased, as the experience of the fruit porters at the London wharves shows; but there is a stringent law against it.

Almost the best temperance measures are those of practical prevention. This is especially true of the coffee-houses. There is a general society in London for the promotion of coffee-houses. The Church of England Temperance Society has also established a large number, through its local branches. The first of the coffee-houses was opened about 1875. Since that time, they have increased so greatly that they are plentifully distributed through all the cities, and even the small towns are not without them. There are few cases where they do not pay substantial dividends. This shows, what is evident to an observer, that they are coming to be considered as settled institutions. Large numbers of working people take their midday meal, and even their breakfast, at the coffee-houses. In market towns, people coming with produce from the country, who were formerly compelled to go to the public houses, now go very largely to the coffee-houses. Often the function of a hostelry is included with that of a restaurant. Some coffee-house companies have large and well-

appointed hotels. Temperance hotels of various grades are a feature of all English and Scotch towns.

One thing that helps the coffee-houses in the competition with the public houses is the number and popularity of non-alcoholic drinks. A coffee-house becomes a place where men can drop in of an evening, and have some light refreshment, a smoke, and a chat—just as they otherwise would at the public house. In many cases, various games, including sometimes billiards and cards, are introduced. In points of general neatness and attractiveness, the coffee-houses are always better off than the public houses, as the publicans have, until now, found their liquors alone a sufficient inducement. Some experiments are being tried in London of duplicating exactly the appearance of a public house, while doing away with its substantial evil influences. One Ritualist priest conducts such an establishment, in which beer is sold, but no spirituous liquors. His object is to see whether it may not be possible and useful to have a public house following what might be called a model plan as to sobriety and good order.

The publicans are coming to feel all this competition. Against their wishes they are gradually coming to supply food and non-alcoholic drinks. Meanwhile, the coffee-houses are more

and more recognized as centres of law-abiding social life. Not long ago, the chief of police of Birmingham ascribed the good order of the city mainly, in the first place to the discipline gained at the schools, and in the second place to the coffee-houses. It is estimated that in Birmingham 70,000 people go in and out of them every week.

Close after the matter of intemperance must always come the question of crime and prisons. The English prison system is still conducted very largely on the military plan. The punishment of the criminal is its almost exclusive object. It is very difficult to secure admission to the prisons for purposes of inspection. Mr. William Tallack, secretary of the Howard Association, was told recently by an officer in a prison that no visitor had inspected that prison during two years. In this way great abuses creep into the management of prisons. As no reformative influences are allowed to come in from without, so there are few at work within. There are, it is true, the chaplain and, for the illiterate, the school-master. Occasionally there is a prison library. But there is little skilled labor, and that is largely done by men who have acquired their trades before their conviction. In some prisons, the whipping-post and the strait-jacket are to be seen, ready for use. In some, prisoners work at the degrading treadmill.

This unduly rigorous idea affects even public institutions for poor relief. In the casual ward, where tramps and other unemployed are sheltered, the men are compelled in the morning to do a very difficult stint of stone-breaking, which is often more than they, in their weak condition, can endure. It is because of the atmosphere of condemnation and punishment which is thrown around the English poor-house, that the poor people have such a horror of the fate which so many of them are helpless to escape, that of ending their days in "the house," as they euphemistically call it.

There are no institutions analogous to the American reformatory prisons. The plan of the indeterminate sentence is quite absent; except that prisoners sentenced for a term of five years or more are released on a ticket of leave, if their conduct has been good, after they have served about three-fourths of their time. It is almost impossible to find in the English prison system any of that rising belief and hope in the manhood of men who have been guilty of crime. Once inside the prison wall, they have practically no one to look upon them except as a strange order of beings, from whom humanity with its possibilities has passed away. This quality of the system is, considering these times, not very greatly re-

lieved by the fact that the prison buildings are on late models, and that the physical health of the prisoners is carefully looked after.

The Howard Association is the leading prison society. This Association interests itself almost entirely in the public and general aspects of prison questions; that is, it undertakes no organized work either of prevention or reformation. It does valuable service in exposing abuses and scandals in the management of prisons. It continually urges the abolition of capital punishment. It would make prisons much more open to good influences from without, and urges a system of regular visitation. The Howard Association on the whole, however, supports the rigorous English system, and its officers look with dissatisfaction upon some of the lenient tendencies of American prisons. Yet the Association was instrumental, a few years ago, in securing the passage of the First Offenders Act, which gives magistrates the power to put under probation those guilty of a first offence, in petty cases, instead of committing them directly to prison. The Association carries on its work through communications to the newspapers, through influencing members of Parliament, and by a variety of printed matter.

For the aiding of discharged prisoners, men and women, a number of associations exist, and there

is a central committee in London for the general establishment of such societies. Some of these societies have homes where discharged prisoners may stay until they can secure employment. The Government allows such societies a small sum for each person cared for by them. It must be said that this department of philanthropy is, compared with the others, at a lack. Indeed, the whole treatment of the problem of the adult criminal seems to be deficient in breadth and sympathy. One's view as to this holds, notwithstanding the decrease in the amount of crime. One cannot but think that the improvement is because of social and educational advances; that it is not a result of the way criminals are treated, but in spite of it. At any rate, the diminution of crime in England is something quite remarkable. The Judicial Statistics show that in twenty years the number of convictions has decreased nearly one-half. In 1869, there were 11,660 prisoners in the convict prisons of the United Kingdom. In 1889, there were only 6,405. The same general proportion of decrease would hold for the local jails. The number of women prisoners has declined at a much greater rate than that of the men.

An evil of great magnitude in the working class is that of gambling. John Burns ranks it with intemperance for the harm it brings to the

poor. The gambling centres mainly about the national pastime of horse-racing. Before every great race, the papers circulating among the working people are largely given up to discussions and predictions as to the coming winners. Advertisements of book-makers are also plentifully inserted. In some cities, efforts are made to suppress pool-rooms, but in general the law against gambling is poorly enforced.

So far as crime in the East End of London is concerned, those who have watched that locality during a period of years unanimously agree that a marked improvement has been made. The condition of things twenty-five years ago is sufficiently shown by the fact that people were often garroted in open daylight. Lawlessness has gradually been put under close restraint. At present the East End is quite orderly, considering everything. If there are any streets that can fairly be said to be dangerous to pass through, they must be very rare. The atrocious murders in Whitechapel are no doubt the work of a monomaniac, and are not to be taken as indicating, except by certain side lights, the usual condition of life in that quarter. A street brawl of a more or less serious sort would more truly represent the form of disorder that is not uncommon.

The horrible curse of prostitution is certainly no

greater characteristic of the East End than of the West End. Indeed, some who know both parts of the metropolis, affirm that the record of the East in this respect is fair compared with that of the West. It is probable that this curse, though it flaunts itself very much in London, exists there in somewhat the same proportion as in other large cities in England and the rest of civilized countries. In England, as in America, there is sufficient legislation against it; but the law is not enforced. The English mind is healthy with regard to this matter in an important respect—it does not regard the woman taken in sin as being practically beyond the reach of hope. A noble work is done by a large number of preventive and reformative institutions and societies. Their plan is to train their *protegées* to an interest in some useful activity, and then secure situations for them where they will be under special encouragement.

And yet it is perfectly evident that such efforts can be no more than slight mitigations. Whatever may be said about the other moral evils that rend the tissue of society, this one at least can be clearly traced back to false economic conditions. Statistics have shown repeatedly that in its main features it is only one of the aspects of the burning question of the unemployed. It is a matter of common information that vast numbers of

women are thrown into a position where insufficient food and slow starvation are ever present realities to them. Vast numbers beside are so situated that by cruel labor they gain only the merest subsistence. On the other hand, a great many men are debased through having far too much material wealth. Even in the case of men receiving salaries and wages, they receive the same sum at the hands of society whether or not they accept the obligation of family life. Until the women of the poor are allowed a fair share of economic freedom; until the men of the well-to-do are assigned a just share of social responsibility, it is idle to expect to remove much of this poison from the life of a people. If these things are true, what shall we have to say to a commercial system, already under serious doubt, which puts upon its markets, alongside its other commodities, the souls of no inconsiderable fraction of all the women in the world? The encouraging thing in England is that so many tendencies are working together to express in practice the necessary answer to this question.

For the prevention of crime by caring for children and youth, there are two kinds of institution under Government control. The reformatories are under the auspices of local public authorities. In the reformatories, young persons under sixteen

who have been guilty of crime are set to work, and have instruction both intellectual and manual. Even here, however the stern treatment of crime is shown by the fact that all juvenile criminals have to undergo a preliminary term in a prison. There are unfortunately many young persons sentenced to full terms in prison who ought of right to be sent to the reformatories. A careful observer in the East End of London has noticed that lads are worse, without exception, after coming from prison than before their committal. For children and youth who are incorrigible, uncared for, or otherwise in danger of becoming criminals, there are industrial schools which have government grants and are under government inspection, but are conducted by private individuals or societies. On the whole, these schools are very well managed. They are to a large extent in the hands of philanthropic people. In some cases they are introducing the system so successfully followed in Germany, of having an increased force of workers, each of whom shall, as far as possible, share the life of groups of the inmates and spread a good influence by means of this special intimacy.* Many boys from reformatories and industrial schools are put on training ships,

* This is the plan followed by Mr. W. M. F. Round, of New York, at the Burnham Industrial Farm.

from which they pass into the merchant or government marine service.

Like every other kind of social work, this is centralized under a general organization, the Reformatory and Refuge Union. This Union, with headquarters in London, carries on its valuable mission through the boys' beadle, five rescue officers, and twenty-one women agents, beside sending out a large amount of literature designed to help institutions for the rescue of women and children. The Union maintains an emigration agency by which boys trained in industrial schools are sent to Manitoba, where they are befriended by an agent of the Union. The proportionate decrease of juvenile crime is even greater than of adult crime. Much of the credit for this must be attributed to the improvement of the public educational system; but no little of this good result comes from the work of the reformatories and industrial schools. Somewhat more than 75 per cent. of reformatory inmates are not again convicted of crime after their discharge.

Valuable voluntary efforts of a similar nature are carried out by St. Giles' Christian Mission in London. This Mission was established thirty years ago in the notorious Seven Dials district; but as the Seven Dials is now built up with improved tenements, the Mission is largely given up

to various kinds of rescue work. Its specialty is that of assuming the care of boys brought before police courts, who would otherwise be sentenced. The boys have homes provided for them, which are made as attractive as possible. They are left practically free from restraint, and have situations found for them in the city, often in places of confidence. This mild, kindly system, with able management, has been very successful, and there are now three large homes under charge of the Mission. The Mission has a special care for all classes of criminals; a much noticed feature of it being the annual thieves' supper.

The most remarkable child-saving institutions in England are Dr. Barnardo's Homes. It is twenty-five years since Dr. Barnardo began his work. There are now forty separate branches, all sustained by voluntary contributions. In these institutions, 3,000 children are constantly cared for. Children are received without any limitation as to age, sex, creed, or nationality. None are excluded on account of sickness or infirmity. Children are either brought to the Homes by destitute parents or friends, or they are rescued from starvation or moral danger by the officers of the Homes. The chief establishments are, the boys' home in Stepney, and the girls' village homes at Ilford, some distance out of London. At the boys' home,

which has about 300 inmates, for half the day the boys are in school, for half they are employed in the shops. Nearly a dozen different trades are taught. The little artisans are under skilled foremen, and to a large extent what they produce goes to supply the needs of the Homes. The village made up of cottage homes for the girls at Ilford is one of extreme interest. Many of these girls are waifs found in the East End of London, who under ordinary circumstances would have to spend the first years of their lives in poor-houses, and would afterward be sent out quite hopeless and helpless against the dangers of the world. The Ilford settlement contains forty-nine cottages, and some other buildings. Each cottage has a sort of home life of its own. Each is in charge of a "mother," who has oversight of the work and play of a group of the girls. There are about 1,100 girls in the village. Some other branches of Dr. Barnardo's Homes are,—the Babies' Castle in the country, to which are sent infants rescued from the slums, often in the most pitiful condition; a farm home for boys; a Youths' Labor House; three houses for boot-black brigades; receiving homes in Canada, and a large farm in Manitoba. The emigration agency has succeeded well. Girls are drafted into household service in Canada. Boys are sent to the institutional farm, and when

they prove faithful, they are assisted to secure land of their own as settlers. Of the 13,000 children cared for and given a start in life since the opening of the Homes, fully 4,000 have been sent to the colonies. There have been few instances in which the young emigrants have not proved a credit to their training. Dr. Barnardo's work has had its characteristic success through able and energetic management, but especially through the strong, sometimes over-zealous, religious feeling which has pervaded it all.

In the public educational system of England profound changes are coming. At present, there are two kinds of elementary schools receiving public support — the board schools, which are managed by a board of citizens not necessarily of the district, and the so-called national schools, which are conducted under the auspices of some religious body. At all of these schools, up to the present, a charge has been made, except in case of extreme poverty. But now, under the legislation of 1891, the schools are to a large extent empowered to remit their fees. There is an aristocratic gradation of schools, some that have charged a fee of eighteen cents a week, others as little as two cents a week. All books are supplied, however. These schools provide a course which carries pupils not quite as far as the American grammar

schools do. Attendance upon the course is compulsory. This regulation seems to work well except among the very poor, whose residence is uncertain and whom the magistrates are usually unwilling to imprison—being unable to pay the fine—for the slight breach of a truant law. Since the fee system has been so largely done away, there has been a considerable increase in the number of pupils at the schools.

There is no general provision for intermediate instruction, but the movement toward technical and secondary education is every day growing stronger. There is an active society, having branches in different parts of the country, with this object in view, which it is urging with increasing success upon Parliament and upon local governing bodies. It is also doing much to assist the efforts of existing technical and secondary schools carried on under private auspices. It was mainly through this association that when Parliament came to distribute to county councils the money from licenses which was to have been used in compensating publicans, the money was given with the express permission that it might be used for the advancement of technical training. The sum divided will amount to $3,700,000 annually. As a result, many new institutions for scientific, manual, and agricultural education are springing

up, and the old ones are enlarging their work. In Wales especially, where just now an interesting intellectual awakening is in progress, the means of intermediate instruction are developing very rapidly.

An important step is to be taken by the government Charity Commissioners having charge of the parochial and other charities of the old City of London. Here there are over a hundred parishes whose funds have lost their use, as nearly all of their parishioners have moved away. Under the directions of an act of Parliament put through by Professor Bryce, the Commissioners have prepared a plan for a number of polytechnics in different parts of the metropolis, especially in working-class districts. The amount to be distributed as a capital fund is rather more than $750,000. This is divided among the Regent Street Polytechnic, the People's Palace, and the combined Morley Memorial College and Royal Victoria Hall. An annual sum of $100,000 is to be distributed among these and seven institutions beside. Four of the seven are new polytechnics, for which a good share of the responsibility has wisely been placed upon people interested in the districts which are to have advantage of them.

The plan of these institutions is taken in the first instance from the Regent Street Polytechnic

which has gradually grown to large proportions, from a beginning as a Young Men's Christian Institute. It now has branches both for young men and for young women. There is a very large number of classes in scientific, artistic, musical, commercial, and more general subjects; beside preparation for the civil service, and instruction in manual training and practical trade work. In the winter, there are many lectures and entertainments. A variety of athletic clubs are organized, for which there is a well-equipped gymnasium, and for summer sports a recreation ground of twenty-seven acres at Wimbledon. The religious exercises are frequent, but are not made unduly prominent. The Polytechnic has a total for members of the Christian Institute and students in the classes, of over 10,000. Considering that the Polytechnic is not in a poor part of London, the size of its working-class constituency is quite remarkable. Four-sevenths of the members and two-thirds of the students are artisans; the rest being, in both cases, teachers and clerks. Nearly a quarter of all are women. Notwithstanding the vastness of it, there is a great deal of warmth and friendly feeling about the Polytechnic. This is largely on account of the *esprit de corps* which the Christian Institute has developed, and on account of the personal influence of Mr. Quintin Hogg, whose

devotion and generosity have been the principal means of bringing the Polytechnic to its present great success.

It is just the lack of such things that is hindering the progress of the People's Palace, which was to have been such a centre of refreshment and joy. In all external respects, it is indeed going forward. The fine stone façade of the building is nearing completion. The splendid winter garden will soon be ready to be opened. The instruction given is able and on a wide variety of topics. The facilities for gymnastic, technical, artistic, and musical training are already good, and are gradually being increased. One or two entertainments are given every week in the beautiful Queen's Hall, and two or three organ recitals on Sunday. The library is by far the best in East London, and both books and periodicals seem to be well used. It is not on the ground that the People's Palace is not to-day a very valuable institution that one is so dissatisfied with it. The trouble is that it is so much, and yet fails of being somewhat more. There has been from the beginning a lack of that element of soul which one finds in the Polytechnic. There is no uniting sentiment, no common feeling. The number of students is altogether over 5,000. The students' association, though it enrolls 2,000 members, does not accom-

plish much. The fees for instruction are higher than they should be; but even at the concerts or entertainments, which either are free or have a very small charge for admission, the poorer grades of working people do not come in any such numbers as it was hoped they would. The great secret of this is that in connection with any such work there must be strong, organized influences which shall teach these less hopeful classes to appreciate the healthful pleasures of life—which shall, in fact, go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in. Of late, the Palace has come into the hands of the Drapers' Company, one of the old city guilds of London. There are many ancient abuses connected with these companies, and the change of management can only decrease the popularity of the Palace. Already the Drapers' Company has magnified the educational features, and made still less of the social. Under these circumstances, while the People's Palace will still be important and useful, it will be impossible for it to retain the deep interest which the outline of its plan aroused.

In all large English cities, but especially in London, there are unusual facilities for evening study. In most of the Northern towns there are mechanics' institutes which offer a variety of courses every winter. In London, the number of evening

classes on all sorts of subjects is quite remarkable. A guide to these classes in the metropolis, giving merely the necessary information with regard to each course, fills a pamphlet of eighty pages. This pamphlet shows what an unorganized evening university there is in London, bringing a thorough intellectual or manual education within easy reach of working people.

An apparently unambitious, and yet really valuable, plan is that of the Recreative Evening Schools Association. The object of this Association is to carry on, through voluntary workers, evening classes in the board schools, combining instruction and recreation for boys and girls who have passed through the elementary required course at the schools. It is found that young people just passing from under this restraint need to be especially cared for. The plan includes also the use of the schools for social clubs, and the use of school play-grounds for gymnastics and out-door games. This simple programme as carried out has shown how much may be accomplished through means which are close at hand. There are in London 345 such classes, combining manual training with entertainment, and their average attendance is 10,000. Schools of the same kind are carried on in a hundred other places outside of London. Besides their immediate success under

private efforts, these schools are bringing Parliament to see the importance of their object. Of late, the government has been assuming the care of recreative evening classes little by little, and it looks as if ultimately all the work of the Evening Schools Association would be undertaken by the school boards. This illustrates the way many reforms are brought about in England—not by reasoned arguments, but by practical demonstration.

Gradually, therefore, the government school system is coming to include secondary training, and it cannot be long until a regular part of the system will be schools of the grade of the American public high schools, only with a far wider range—preparing students not merely for the university and professional careers, but for every occupation of art or skill. It is now a foregone conclusion that under the next Liberal government the school system is to be made, to all intents and purposes, entirely free. The Conservatives themselves, just before Parliament was prorogued in the summer of 1891, passed a measure in this direction by which the country will have, to a degree, the advantages of free education. But it is in no full sense a free education measure. It is only a compromise, intended, on the one hand, to quiet the popular demand, and, on the other, to

save as much as possible of the voluntary system under which the parochial schools are carried on.

With these developments, there will undoubtedly come a still greater impetus to what is good and hopeful; as so much has already come in the moral and social development of the working people through the reign of popular compulsory education during the last twenty years. The intellectual appetite of the working man has grown by what it has fed upon. He is learning in the progress of labor how important is the possession of trained faculties not only for the sake of greater skill in his work, but for the sake of a true knowledge of his better interests. Not seldom, one hears remarks which indicate that the more educated working men are beginning to look with expectation toward the universities, having the desire at least that those who follow them may come into privileges which they themselves have failed of.

For the present, at least, the University Extension system seems to be the most promising means of bringing the fruits of culture to the workers. The local colleges are of more and more use in this direction. With their government grants, they are able to reach the needs of working people by special evening classes and by occasional popular lectures. The spread of the higher education is greatly assisted by the increase of public libraries.

In the past four years, over eighty districts have voted to have libraries, as against 133 adoptions of the plan in the thirty-six years previous, dating back to the first Public Libraries Act. The feeling constantly grows stronger that the public library is a necessary adjunct to the school. Libraries are being voted for by one after another of the working-class districts of London. There is found to be a gradual improvement in the character of the books taken from the libraries.

Though it may be long till the working men have the full freedom of Oxford and Cambridge, yet the extension lectures and the settlements are having a great influence in establishing relations between the centres of learning and the centres of industry. At the universities, the attitude toward the cause of labor is becoming much more sympathetic. This is well shown in the book of Professor Marshall, of Cambridge, the leading economist of the country, which begins at once with the radical question of the abolition of poverty, and intimates that even so great a blessing is not too much to hope for.* Professor Marshall makes it a point to confer from time to time with intelligent working men, in order to keep fresh his sense of actual events as they go on in the busy world. In general, however, the academic atmos-

* "Principles of Economics," pages 2-4.

phere unfits men residing at the universities for a just appreciation of the labor movement. But there is a tendency which is bringing to its aid some of the best young minds that the universities produce. The very strong gravitation toward the cities leaves comparatively slight opportunity for intellectual work in the smaller towns. London is more and more a concentration of the whole of English life. Moreover the universities are graduating an increasing number of students who incline to be specialists in political and social science. There is small provision for postgraduate study in such lines in the way of fellowships at the universities or of professorships at smaller institutions of learning. So these men come up to London, and perhaps join one of the university settlements; or they enter the struggle for existence at professional or literary work; at any rate, they are brought face to face with facts as they really are. They get acquainted with the younger trade union leaders, and find themselves in unexpected sympathy with the hopes and efforts of labor. They do not hesitate on occasion to support working people in their strikes. Scholars of this type, making specialties of matters of current, practical importance, are the ones who are certain to be at the front in the discussions of future years. In this way, the current school of economists which

has shown the bearing of social history upon political economy is passing naturally into a school which will contribute the results coming from an intimate experience of the circumstances under which life is lived by the great crowded masses of the people of to-day.

The various social movements have beyond question drawn out and strengthened the higher intellectual and moral forces of English society. In a general political point of view, they have been a strong purifying influence. It is a curious fact that some of the ablest and most earnest members of Parliament represent the poorest working-class districts. The County Council elected by democratic London is a very fine object lesson. As to international politics, nothing operates so strongly in the different countries toward keeping the peace of Europe as organized labor; and the advocates of peace, like other reformers, are beginning to learn how closely their cause is bound up with democratic movements.

More immediate effects are more remarkable. Who can estimate the influence of bringing vast numbers of untrained men into a relationship which stirs the social and moral feelings to so large an extent as the trade unions do? The persistent holding up of a better kind of life before lower grades of working men does not re-

sult in a mere desire for selfish advancement, for material accumulation or gratification. It brings a determination to be free from the misery of that material impoverishment which cramps and paralyzes the higher faculties. In this sense, what the labor movement has accomplished for its members has been of great significance, as bringing them up into a more elevated atmosphere, where they may be free to seek and receive for themselves a greater share of those things which make the individual life true to itself, and make a nation great.

We have seen how the condition of the poor has challenged all the different elements of civilization. It has made each feel that if East London is one of the outcomes of the progress for which it is working, then that progress must be in some part false and deadly. And we see them all yielding themselves in new forms of endeavor to prove that they are truly powers set for the regeneration of society. This passing of the social forces out into fresh fields will be sure to revive them at the source. Even now one can begin to see new strength and motive coming into the Church and the government; new inspiration coming into art and learning. The confident feeling that the best things may be safely entrusted to the people is something which, when faith-

fully carried out, as it is being carried out in England, will not only ennoble the people, but will make every higher kind of activity burst forth into an era of achievements hitherto unknown.

This means that whole sections of society which have been indifferent and even hostile to each other are now coming together, are seeking a unity of interest, each learning to render to the other of what it has received. This tendency would not, indeed, appear on the surface. It is to be found only in its beginnings, compared with what remains to be done. And yet the most impressive thing in Europe to-day is the slow, steady, irresistible advance of the British democracy. Every person that goes on a helpful mission to the poor, bringing education, religion, or only the means of physical life, is adding in fact, whether consciously or not, to this tendency. There is a deep unity which binds the social movements together. No one exists to itself. Each finds itself after a while face to face with some other. And all are at last borne along in the same mighty current. An influence so great imparts to every slight effort for humanity something of its own dignity. In its presence, less reliance begins to be placed upon the theories of the past, or upon imagined limitations to progress. The wisest men are seeking most of all to know their times —act-

ing in the light of to-day, daring to hope for great things in the days to come.

England is well prepared for the working out of the national society of the future. The people are of the vigorous Anglo-Saxon race, without contaminating mixture. The country is small, so that diverse interests of localities are not so likely to spring up. The government in all its parts is remarkable for purity, which shows that the people individually have a healthy political instinct. The strength and vitality that has been the means of conquering so much of the world is gradually proving itself able to throw off internal evil. There is coming to be a general social sense which forbids that men should be hindered from attaining the fair enjoyment of those better qualities that are the essential distinction of human existence.

Already the large activities of the English people are beginning to run according to the lines of a real social organism. Christianity in England has always, in spite of sectary and sacerdotalist, stood for the noble ideal of the whole nation organized for worship; profound changes will not destroy this hope, but will only make it broader and truer. From the old universities, are going out efforts which unmistakably suggest the nation organized for culture. The House of Commons

and the city governments express more closely every year the public interests of all the people. Out of the toiling majority, there comes a great impulsive rising which shows that the period of confusion and chaos in the industry of the nation is almost at an end.

In any case, whatever other characteristics this coming democracy may have, it is certain to be a social democracy. It will not disappoint its people by removing one kind of aristocracy merely that a worse may arise. It will not be swept and garnished of ancestral privilege in order that the privilege of commercial craft may the more fully enter in. Rather, it will be as a fertile field, levelled of the remnants of a former season, where all that nourishes the better nature may freely grow. In the approach toward such a national life —toward a republic of industry, of letters, of art, of pure religion and undefiled —England, of all the countries of the world, holds for the next following generations the manifest destiny. The other nations of Greater Britain, learning from the mother country, may, if they will, in the farther future, with their more difficult problems, arrive at a more glorious result.

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